

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## "NEVER AGAIN!" Our Broken Pledge



**The Plain Man, speaking for most plain men, says:**

**We Need Not Go Through All That Horror Again!**

**TWENTY-ONE** years ago the guns were silenced at the end of the greatest slaughter in the history of the world.

Every year since then the nation has gathered at war memorials throughout the country to remember the men who died in the belief that as a result of their sacrifice there should be no more war.

But this year it is different. At the Cenotaph, the nation's shrine, the usual impressive ceremony will not take place tomorrow.

Perhaps it is as well. It would be a hollow mockery, for we have betrayed the men who died.

Their sons are being conscripted to fight another war for "freedom" and "democracy." And on the other side of no-man's-land another generation of Germans are following in the steps of their fathers.

necessary. "Never again!"—that phrase summed up our resolve.

But we have allowed memories to grow dim, and fine resolves to become lost amid the intrigues of power-politics to which tradition-bound politicians returned after the war.

So today, twenty-one years after, another generation is being sent to the shambles. If we still refuse to use our imagination and to find a better way, Europe will again drain its cup of sorrow—only to find the dregs even more bitter than before.

NOT only have we broken faith with the men who died, we have forgotten the men who came back.

Some of them, it is true, are offering their services again, out of a pathetic belief that another great conflict will be more successful than the last in bringing peace to a war-weary world.

But there are others, men who will never be able to serve again; the legion of living dead—maimed physically, and in some cases mentally, for the rest of their days.

I SUGGEST that this Armistice Day is a good time at which to pause and remember—dropping all the preconceived ideas with which we entered this war.

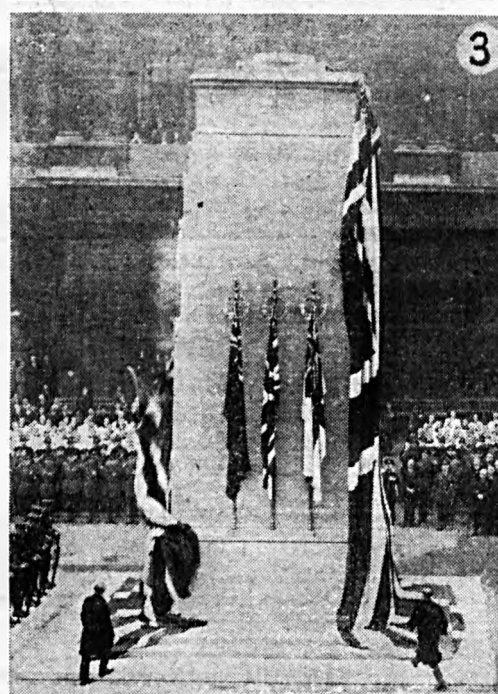
We must ask ourselves whether, in the light of the history of the last twenty-five years, we are not worse than fools if we sanction such another colossal destruction of human life, happiness, and material wealth.

After the last war victors and vanquished met to discuss "peace" terms. The majority of people in the Allied countries gave themselves up to enjoyment of relaxation from the tension of four awful years. And the politicians returned to their old ways of seeking to promote their own nation's interests, at the expense of others if need be.

The "peace" that was made in this fashion has now brought the consequences that men of vision foresaw. For the men of vision were ignored.

BUT one thing is still certain: some time, representatives of the Allies and of Germany will again confer.

(Continued on page 6).



## YOU AND THE PEACE OFFER

By the Editor of Peace News

NEW hope for peace comes with the appeal of the Dutch Queen and Belgian King, to Britain, France, and Germany, to "state their standpoints with greater precision" so that the two sovereigns might "bring them nearer to one another."

By the time this appears in print the British Government may have stated its position. Probably the German Government will also state its position to the sovereigns, for the Amsterdam correspondent of *The Times* reported on Tuesday that "it is thought possible that Berlin has told The Hague and Brussels that Germany is willing to reconsider the offer of mediation that has never been withdrawn since it was first made on August 28."

To exaggerate the possibilities might be as fatal as to minimize them.

But it is at least possible that (to quote *The Times* correspondent again) "the Low Countries have reason to suppose that the renewal of their offer . . . would now fall on good ground."

Without being, on the one hand, wildly elated by the undoubted fact that here is a golden opportunity or, on the other, unduly depressed by Lord Halifax's broadcast the same day (his speech contained some very significant and even hopeful statements of ultimate peace aims), surely the very least we ought to do now is to contribute all we know to ensuring that the ground on which the appeal falls is good.

Let it not be said that any single person who now desires that the first step shall be taken toward peace failed to do whatever small or big thing was possible to ensure that at last reason shall take the place of the madness of war.

At least we can let the Prime Minister and our respective Members of Parliament know that we desire that every assistance—including, if necessary, some sacrifice of wealth, power and prestige—shall be given to the royal mediators with the least possible delay.

If the surveys of public opinion which the *News Chronicle* has been publishing accurately represent the country as a whole, there is every reason why this should be done to such good effect as to ensure that Britain will play its part in bringing a real peace. Here is a way to make sense of the observance of Armistice Day, 1939.

## We Made a Vow....

. . . twenty years ago. These pictures should enable us to remember if, as seems apparent, we have forgotten.

1. The tumultuous crowd at Buckingham Palace, cheering the King and Queen, November, 1918. Peace at last! Relief in every heart.

2. The first Two Minutes' Silence: the scene, Oxford Street, London. "Never again!" we vowed during those awesome seconds.

3. We raised a symbol of stone to enshrine that pledge: the Cenotaph being unveiled on November 11, 1920.

This year there will be no cheering, no Silence, no ceremony at the Cenotaph. Perhaps it is as well. Let us stay alone with . . .

**..our Shame**

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Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

# "Hypocritical Remembrance" of the Dead What U.S. Neutrality Means A War Aims Debate

MANY people have been wondering how the authorities concerned would get over the unpleasant reminders associated with Armistice Day.

Those responsible for the Cenotaph service have reacted with caution, and the ceremony will not take place.

No: so the British Legion, however. That body had no qualms about announcing that "Poppy Day helps war-sufferers of two generations," because "it finances the work of the British Legion for disabled and necessitous ex-Service men of all ranks, all services, and all wars."

So it is suggested that people should buy two poppies this year, "one as a tribute to the men of 1914-18 and the other to their sons who are serving today." The comments of some ex-Service men would probably be unprintable, for they feel that the fact that the sons of the generation which went through the Great War are now being asked to undergo the same experience is the measure of our betrayal of those who died.

## "All Wars"

THE statement that by supporting the British Legion we can help the disabled men of "all wars" seems to imply that even this war is not now intended to be a "war to end war." If this is intentional the attitude of those who can so calmly face the prospect of still more wars will fill all thoughtful people with despair.

At Eastleigh, in Hampshire, the Armistice Day church parade has already been described as a "hypocritical remembrance," in view of the fact that men from 1914 to 1918 laid down their lives that war should be no more. For this reason the Borough Council has refused to attend the parade, to which it was invited by the British Legion.

While the British Legion carries on its work of caring for the men shattered by the last war, surely it could have best served the next generation by making every effort to ensure that their sacrifices were not in vain.

## Neutral—Against the Nazis

THE story of the Irishman who wanted to know against whom his country was neutral appears to have been given practical expression in America's Neutrality Act.

The Act, which was signed by President Roosevelt on Saturday, makes it possible for any belligerent to purchase all American products, including arms, munitions, and implements of war, provided he can pay for them without recourse to American credit and can carry them away in his own ships.

"At least, that is what the Act legally provides for. In practice, as was shown by the jubilation among the Allies and complaints by the Nazis, it will operate wholly in favour of Britain and France. And in matters of this kind it is the practical aspect that must be considered, however just the theoretical aspect may appear."

Looking at it from this angle, it is clear that the German Government is justified

in protesting that America has abandoned her neutrality. This is not to say that America should also sell arms to Germany; the greatest negative contribution she could make would be to withhold arms from either side, for the armaments traffic has never been known to promote peace.

## Intervention for War or Peace?

ONLY the future can show whether America's latest step is a step towards her own participation in the war—a contingency which the majority of Americans abhor.

Nor shall we probably know for many a day whether this step was taken partly in response to pressure from Allied sources, though there is little doubt that such pressure was exerted.

All the more praise attaches, therefore, to a speech which Lord Lothian, British Ambassador in the United States, made in New York recently.

He asked his listeners what they thought Britain's war aims should be, adding:

"It is inconceivable to me that the United States, which has already done such immeasurable things for the freedom of mankind, should not have its own contribution to make to the solution of the greatest problem that has ever presented itself to the genius of man."

At a time when the diplomats of the countries at war are feverishly trying to enlist the support of neutrals, Lord Lothian showed commendable restraint in admitting that Americans, who are "outside the maelstrom," can "perhaps see things in better perspective than we."

If America really wishes to keep out of war, one of the most useful things she could do would be to gather support for an attempt at mediation by a neutral bloc; this week's appeal from Belgium and Holland may, in fact, be a move in this direction.

## H. G. Wells on Rights of Man

ALREADY there has begun a spate of articles, pamphlets, books, &c., dealing with Britain's war aims and the sort of world we hope to build when the war is over.

I have no space to give anything like a survey of them, but I would mention this week the Declaration of Rights drawn up by Mr. H. G. Wells in conjunction with a few friends, and included in a letter published in *The Times*.

Not only is Mr. Wells looked upon as one of our prophets, but any utterance of his is doubly interesting in view of the recent revelation that he gave a very blunt answer to an invitation to undertake propaganda work similar to that which he did during the last war.

Following are points from his declaration:

1. "Every man without distinction of race or colour entitled to nourishment, housing, covering, medical care and attention sufficient to realize his full possibilities of physical and mental development and to keep him in a state of health from his birth to death."

2. "That he is entitled to sufficient education to make him a useful and interested citizen, that he should have easy access to information upon all matters of common knowledge throughout his life and enjoy the utmost freedom of discussion."

3. "That he and his personal property lawfully acquired are entitled to police and legal protection."

4. "That, although he is subject to the free criticism of his fellows, he shall have adequate protection from any lying or misrepresentation that may distress or injure him."

5. "That he may engage freely in any lawful occupation, earning such pay as the need for his work and the increment it makes to the common welfare may justify. That he is entitled to demand employment and to a free choice when there is any variety of employment open to him."

6. "That he may move freely about the world at his own expense."

7. "That he shall have the right to buy or sell without any discriminatory restrictions anything which may be lawfully bought or sold, in such quantities and with such reservations as are

compatible with the common welfare."

8. "That a man unless he is duly certified as mentally deficient shall not be imprisoned for a longer period than three weeks without being charged with a definite offence against the law nor for more than three months without a public trial."

Mr. Wells concluded by suggesting that these provisions and principles should be incorporated in a legal code, to become "the fundamental law for mankind throughout the whole world."

His insistence, it will be noted, is on the individual; other proposals have tended to be more concerned with the political structure of the world.

## War the Dividing Line

A LETTER which appeared in *The Times* after that from Mr. Wells put forward six proposals by Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse. One of them is of particular interest:

"The freedom of every citizen from the liability to conscription. No world will be worth living in unless we can get rid of war, and war must be regarded as the dividing line between barbarism and civilization."

If only the majority of people would subscribe to the final phrase, and act upon it, the question of war aims would become much simpler.

Another correspondent took Mr. Wells to task for deprecating "constitution-mongering," and asked "how the rights of man (revised) are to be fixed in the practice of more than, say, one or two States, unless some great constitutional change takes place." In this connexion the proposal for a federal union naturally received some attention—though here again much depends upon whether or not the mass of the people will insist on the renunciation of war.

## Senor de Madariaga's View—

THOSE who heard Señor Salvador de Madariaga discuss this proposal at the National Peace Congress earlier this year will be interested in his comment on Mr. Wells's letter.

The declaration, he said, was too long—because it went into far too much detail; and too short—because it stressed "the respect which the whole owes to the individual," while leaving out of account "the respect which the individual owes to the whole." He added:

"We need a short, pithy set of beliefs and acts of faith, written in the simplest and clearest of languages which every man and woman can understand and retain by heart, which every school, law court, Parliament house, and town hall can display on its walls; these civic commandments to be the universally accepted code of behaviour for men and nations, the foundation of a kind of civic religion gradually to absorb the present local patriotisms without in any way destroying them. To this effect the civic commandments must cover and rule the relations between men, nations, and mankind so that the rights and duties of these three terms of the human equation are clearly set out."

The whole to be conceived in an organic spirit, i.e., with a full recognition of the fact that we are all limbs of each other—a fact which the religious minded and the economic minded will discover to be perhaps their only meeting ground."

## —and Lord Ponsonby's

A PACIFIST viewpoint was expressed in a letter from Lord Ponsonby which appeared on Monday—the same day as Señor de Madariaga's.

Lord Ponsonby hoped that the Government would not "lay down any detailed terms now which would be bound to contain some 'irreducible minimum,' and therefore lead to internal controversy and international recriminations." He went on to make a really practical and urgent suggestion:

"Before the war gains sufficient momentum for all considerations to be merged into one object only—namely, victory by a 'knock-out blow'—may I venture to suggest a procedure which might still be adopted before it is too

late? A mediator from one of the really neutral States might on his own initiative come forward and suggest mediation. If he were accepted by both sides he would propose a conference, composed mainly of neutral representatives (but including the three belligerents), without drawing up any agenda."

"The acceptance of this might be followed by an armistice, after which the mediator would frame an agenda for the conference on very broad lines. No-one would be committed. But by that time the representative delegates might be expected to have sufficient wisdom to foresee that any possible agreement that could be reached must be in the nature of things be preferable to a settlement enforced, after carnage and starvation, by a vindictive treaty which is the irresistible and inevitable consequence of victory after a prolonged war."

## J. MIDDLETON MURRY on What Hitlerism Really Is

MR. BOURNE, in a letter in the last issue, finds my statement that at bottom Hitlerism is an attempt to overcome capitalist economic crisis by regimenting the whole nation for war "astonishing" and "inadequate" as a definition of Hitlerism. He much prefers Mr. Chamberlain's.

The real Hitlerism, he says, was "succinctly though not completely" summed up "beyond a shadow of doubt" by the Prime Minister as "an evil thing of broken faith and falsehood." Nevertheless, he feels that this is inadequate, and ends by a categorical denial of my contention. "Hitlerism is," he says, "definitely anti-Christian and its roots are not in a faulty economic system in the world—that is its opportunity—it will always flourish where men prefer evil to righteousness."

I did not offer a "definition" of Hitlerism: that would involve an analysis on the economic, the political, the moral and the religious levels, for Hitlerism is a reality on all these. I pointed to what I believe to be its fundamental economic cause. It is conceivable to me that another nation—of higher moral and religious quality than any I know of—might have reacted in a different way to the acute suffering caused by Germany's economic crisis. But any definition of Hitlerism which neglects its peculiar economic causation is intrinsically worthless, and potentially dangerous.

Most of all do I deplore such a definition as Mr. Bourne's. It amounts simply to this: that Hitlerism is pure Evil. "Hitlerism always flourishes where men prefer evil to righteousness." Men have preferred evil to righteousness for a very long while, but Hitlerism has flourished only since the last War.

Hitlerism indeed is inconceivable without the ultra-modern technique of radio and aeroplane and Ersatz; it is possible only in the mass-society produced by modern technology. Thus, I can attach no meaning whatever to the statement that Hitlerism has always flourished where men prefer evil to righteousness. It is either a mystical-metaphysical deliverance; or an elementary mistake in logic. "Hitlerism is Evil; therefore, Evil is Hitlerism." It does not follow.

Hitlerism is a mixture of good and evil. How much more the evil preponderates over the good in Hitlerism than it does in British plutocracy I am not able to estimate. Neither is Mr. Bourne. Nor will he, on principle, accept my statement that Hitler, misguided enthusiast though he is, has done a good deal more to establish real social justice than the British Government has done during the last six years.

But Mr. Bourne's metaphysical assurance that Hitlerism is absolute Evil is pernicious, even though I do not doubt that the conclusion he personally draws from that conviction is that Hitlerism, being Evil, is not to be resisted. The danger is that another kind of people, much more numerous, will conclude that Hitlerism, being Evil, and Hitler the Devil, we have a unique chance—unique till the next war comes—of eradicating them both. We will drive the devils out of the German people by starving their children into sanctity—once again.

## What Chamberlain said about War

No. 1

AND when the war is over, whoever may be the victor, it leaves behind a trail of loss and suffering which two generations will not obliterate, and it sows the dragon's teeth which are the seeds of fresh conflicts, fresh injustices, and fresh conflicts.

Neville Chamberlain at the Jubilee Dinner of the Foreign Press Association at Grosvenor House, December 12, 1938.

## He Went Through It All Last Time, And Now He Tells

# HOW

**T**OMORROW the thoughts of millions of people will turn, amid the realities of this war, to memories of the last.

Superficial comparisons we have read almost daily since this one started. But at Armistice time thoughts go deeper and memories are more poignant.

Many men will recall what the last war meant to them; why they joined up; what they went through; how the purity of ideals stood out in sharp contrast to the baseness of the means through which they were expected to be realized; and how those ideals were betrayed.

One such man has just published his life story,\* up to the end of the war, at any rate, his story is that of millions of others. I can imagine no better exercise for anyone who is inclined to think that this war is not so bad, after all, than to read this man's experiences and to ask whether we need send another generation through the same inferno to the same accompaniment of pious hopes that will again be forgotten.

The author, who is now a journalist turned writer, was born into a working-class family in Birmingham. Poverty and bad social conditions made him something of a rebel.

He was 22 when the war broke out, and though popular sentiment—thanks to a jingo press—was enthusiastic, his own reactions were only "lukewarm."

### "Right versus Might"

But popular sentiment proved too much. Uniforms were everywhere—just as they are again today. Of those early days Mr. Garratt writes:

"Business as usual," yelled the newspapers, with a disregard of the unusual amount of business that was soon to raise millionaires from the gutter. But it was not so easy for the young men to carry on business as usual without being viewed as shirkers or as the hated conscientious objectors. Women soon became the best recruiting sergeants. . .

"I persuaded myself that we had been drawn into a spiritual battle of right versus might, that transcended all material motives. The sanctity of treaties and the rights of smaller nations were ideals worth fighting for, and the utmost self-sacrifice was necessary if the cause was to triumph. But what contribution was I to make? Like thousands of other young men, I grew uneasy about my position and felt ashamed at remaining in civilian clothes. Then the casualties began to arrive—shattered men on stretchers, and others limping about, that brought the realities of war nearer the doorstep. I remained for days perplexed in mind, undecided what to do."

So Mr. Garratt decided to help the YMCA in its work of caring for men concentrated in military camps all over the country. He tells us he was "glad to make it an alternative to joining up as a combatant soldier," for he was strongly averse to killing.

I wonder how many young men today find themselves in precisely the same situation? Here is how their predecessors saw it:

"How many of these young men could reconcile their cultured and sensitive natures to the bestial art of killing, could be explained, I discovered, by the zest with which they accepted the righteousness of the cause and the avowed aims for which Britain had gone to war. They were partners in a noble crusade and were fully prepared to sacrifice their lives that, by the overthrow of militarism, the world might be made safe for democracy."

### Brutality of Militarism

The insistent appeal for recruits for this "noble crusade" eventually led the author to enlist as a private in the Field Ambulance Corps.

"My aversion to killing," he records, "illogical as it may seem, remained intact. It was something of a relief to be dressed in khaki, for it gave young men the right to hold the head high and to be exempt from the white feathers of fatuous women."

It soon became apparent that, however high the ideals of the recruits, the means of putting them into practice were going to be foul. We are given a picture of a sergeant of the type which, our press has lately been anxious to assure us, no longer exists:

\*A Man in the Street. By V. W. Garratt. Dent, 10s. 6d.



This Dutch soldier on guard at the frontier is typical of the young men whose energy and enthusiasm are being harnessed to the chariot of war. Soon, if the neutrals' peace appeal should fail, he too may be flung into the maelstrom. Can we not employ the idealism of youth in the service of more noble ends?

"... he had the masterly art of knocking out of raw recruits whatever decent elements of manhood stood in the way of military efficiency. Most of us, no doubt, were quite prepared to have our civilian heads knocked off, provided the execution was tolerably graceful. But 'Uncle' soon taught us the essential brutality of militarism. It takes hold of the young combatant by the scruff of the neck, wrings all the finer qualities and sensibilities out of him, and then pours in the blood-lust and the mechanical desire to kill."

**OFFICIALLY** the war was against Prussian militarism, but that, of course, was a blind. A Polish refugee girl-student whom Mr. Garratt met in London saw it differently:

"To her advanced, and what proved to be correct, way of thinking, the idealism of the Allied cause was a deliberate sham—a cotton-wool coating of the sword by unscrupulous financiers, international munition-mongers, jingoist press lords, and by the unholy tribe of reactionary leaders of Church and Parliament, who set up fictitious images of the Holy Grail to lure the eyes of youth to the fields of death and destruction."

The same confidence trick is being played again; the gang remains substantially the same, and its dupes are, at heart, very similar to the generation that went before. The element of compulsion to provide the cannon-fodder has had to be introduced earlier, that is all.

In due course our "man in the street" went to France, passing at Le Havre some troops on their way home on leave. "They are almost hysterical with delight," he records, "and strain weary-looking, bloodless faces to send us on with a cheer. Their eyes were like those of a scared dog under the raised arm of a brutal master."

After he had got over the first nervous shock of being under fire, one of the first things that struck him in the trenches "was the absence of bitterness against the German soldiers." That was left to the patriots at home and to the atrocity-mongers.

### A Horrible Dream

Here is a description to keep at the back of your mind when you read the war correspondents' cheerful dispatches from the Front:

"The breaking of dawn over the battle-field is one of the saddest scenes the eye can behold. The hideous signs of the night's destruction come into view—dead bodies or seriously wounded men half hidden in a ditch, pieces of blood-

# WAR BETRAYS THE IDEALS OF YOUTH

bespattered clothing hanging from treacherous barbed wire, rifles and lumps of shell-casing and gaping holes, round which the earth is mixed up with the flesh and blood of many a victim.

"As the morning light came over the hills to inquire into the frenzy of the night before, it was like emerging from a horrible dream. Then it was that you privately prayed for a slight wound or a convenient breaking down of health that would get you to the base. This was not cowardice or selfishness but a natural reaction to the situation. But while this prayer remained unanswered you carried on in a mechanical manner and placed yourself at the mercy of a mysterious destiny. This enabled you to lose all sense of fear and to continue working under exposed conditions when broad daylight brought one in full view of the enemy."

"To his credit, however, he allowed us to carry away the wounded with little interference, though he could easily have blown us all to kingdom come. For hour after hour we carried broken bodies over difficult roads to the clearing station and kept rallying our strength when complete exhaustion seemed to be imminent. When a few hours' sleep was possible I threw myself down to find a swift release from the ennobling glory of war."

### Millions Disillusioned

Mr. Garratt did not, however, get "a slight wound or a convenient breaking down of health," and when he reached his five hundredth day of active service (without a break) he and his comrades were fighting the Turks in Palestine. The following is his summing-up of his "mental stock-taking" on that day:

"Like that of most 'old campaigners,' the volunteer spirit had subsided in the knowledge that the bright bubbles of a 'common sacrifice,' the suspension of 'class distinction,' and 'the war to end war' had been burst by the orgy of profiteering and financial jobbery, by the stampede of aristocratic rank and fliers into safe and cushy positions, and by the cynical attitude of Press and politicians towards the promise of a world made safe for democracy."

"The most that one could hope for was that out of the conflict would emerge a sufficient controlling force to ensure that justice would be done to the men and families who had given their all and that something would speedily happen to terminate the insensate slaughter of the finest manhood of the civilized world. For the moment millions of disillusioned men submitted to a monstrous fate and I marvelled at the success with which organized discipline, operating from the apex of the army pyramid, managed to keep them in control. In practice, of course, the rank and file kept one another in control; for generals could always rely on execution squads carrying out the letter of the law."

Need I remind you that that is the prospect which our young men face today? Need I remind you that, with incredibly blind optimism, we are today engaged in another struggle which we are told will usher in a new order of justice, freedom, and security for all? Shall we never learn from our own experience?

### In Grip of Blood-Lust

In 1917, as today, there were calls for a peace by negotiation. They went unheeded, with the result that hundreds of thousands more young men were killed and maimed. By Christmas of that year the British troops were in Jerusalem; here is part of the entry in Mr. Garratt's diary for Christmas Day:

"Saw people going to St. George's Cathedral to hear about peace on earth and goodwill towards men while bayonets are fixed ready for action. Went up to line at dusk to collect wounded. Pitiful plight of infantry, soaked to the skin and looking half dead from exposure. Hope Lloyd George and Churchill enjoy their turkey dinner. Ghastly journey to Jerusalem with wounded. Everyone dejected and I suppose terribly homesick. Hospital at least warm, but out on the hills. . . ."

Fierce battles marked the coming of the New Year. "Ring out the old; ring in the new" might have suited Lord Lansdowne and millions more," writes Mr. Garratt, "but the blood-lust had got too great a hold on the powerful and the prosperous to think of talking of peace."

**T**HESE are some of the things that we should do well to remember when we are told that "force"—beautiful abstraction!—must be used to "curb aggression."

We should remember that when politicians and church leaders and press magnates decide that the time has come to "resist by force," they are condemning young men with high ideals to kill and be killed; that they are unleashing great forces of evil and corruption so that, if the young men are not killed or maimed they may fall victims to foul disease; and that they are setting in motion machines to work up hatred among the civilians—hatred that will exert tremendous pressure against any attempt to secure a just peace when the slaughter is over. All those things, remember, we have already started to do again; is our national conscience quite easy about them?

The reaction of Mr. Garratt to these things was that of many other men of his generation:

"I embraced the Socialist creed because I could see no other way of freeing humanity from the triple curse of War, Poverty and Drink. I condemned war from the platform of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; poverty I denounced through the activities of the Independent Labour Party, and the United Kingdom Alliance enabled me to strike at the Demon of Drink."

The ex-Service men who are to be found today in the fight against war believed, with Mr. Garratt, that

"The finest legacy the present generation can leave to its children is a world of active peace-mindedness wherein war between nations is looked upon as antiquated as fighting one's neighbour."

Even for the sake of the children, then, will this generation not change its ways, when those ways have been revealed as bestial and futile? At this Armistice time, while the war in the West still hangs fire, it has possibly the last chance to make up its mind.

J. W. COWLING

### "A Bestial Experience . . ."

**O**N this Armistice Day there will no doubt be recollections of the comradeship that existed between the men who fought in the last war.

Here is how the author of the book described in this article looks back on those friendships, and warns against their abuse:

"To keep alive the spirit of comradeship does not mean perpetuating a sentimental regard for the atrocious conditions from which it sprung, but rather to cleanse it of the primitive dross that clogs individual sanity and reason and keeps it exposed to the machinations of the war-mongers."

"For this reason the British Legion can be as much an instrument for war as a blessing to many of its survivors. Controlled by ex-officers, it keeps in constant mobilization a disciplined sentiment of the trenches that could easily be routed into martial action again, regardless of past experience."

"Men who submit to mass renderings of 'Abide with Me' and 'Land of Hope and Glory,' and accept the sentimental charity of Poppy Day in proportion as they ignore the duty of a Government to provide for the casualties of war, are not likely to exercise and act upon sane individual judgment in times of national crises."

"Neither does the glorification of personal experiences in war, as implied in the public display of medals and in annual marches to church, present ex-Service men in a favourable light. As war, to me, was a bestial and unholy experience that I never want to pass through again, the only comradeship I consider worth perpetuating is that which will help my fellow-men to drive this curse off the face of the earth so that the comradeship of love and good will shall rise triumphant over that of the fields of death."

## Though Sentenced for Life This French Pacifist says : I WILL SPEND MY LIFE IN FIGHTING WAR

**T**WENTY years ago Eliacin Vézian was sent to a Convict Settlement in French Guiana, sentenced to penal servitude for life. He had been charged with desertion from the Army and supplying information to the enemy.

He has just been "pardoned." We learn that he has been released from prison but is not allowed to return to France and is therefore stranded in French Guiana.

Eliacin Vézian is now 52 years old, but he answered the call last time and was at the war front for sixteen months. He became disgusted with the idea of war and army life. He escaped, and finally reached Barcelona, where for more than a year he helped with the journal *La Verite*.

He was still there when arrested for desertion and the additional charge of "supplying information to the enemy" was introduced because the paper was financed by Germans.

He wrote the following article from French Guiana shortly before war was again declared.

*By Eliacin Vezian*

**W**HEN I was very young I was told that it was wicked to fight. When I grew up, that is to say when I reached years of discretion, people told me fighting was an honourable thing for me to do. How can one understand this?

I was also told when I was very young that it was necessary to hate lying, love one's neighbour as oneself, and do good to other people. At school our little books of moral stories were full of good counsels which impressed themselves on my young heart.

I naturally paid attention to the precepts which I had been taught—never do your neighbour an injury and practise the Christian virtues, goodness and love.

### "This Beautiful Philosophy"

Very well; do you know where it has led me, my observance to the last letter of this beautiful philosophy, which everybody approves? Straight—to prison. And when I say prison I mean a Convict Settlement, or Bagne. The French Convict Settlement, my foreign friends who read this, is quite another thing from prison. The inhabitants of the Bagne, you must know, are sent thousands of miles away from their own country to an unwholesome region, from which very few come back. I have spent seventeen years of my life in this torrid climate, having for my daily companions only the low specimens of humanity who inhabit this wretched place....

Believe me, dear readers, during this long period of confinement one's spirit, withdrawn into itself, ponders ceaselessly, and every day one confronts oneself with the same question: "Have I acted rightly? Can I continue to suffer, in my body and in my spirit, for that which I believe to be true?"

### Convictions Firm...

For, I must tell you, so long an existence of privation and suffering ends by breaking the strongest will, and very few people come through such a hard trial without losing something of their enthusiasm or faith. Speaking for myself, I rejoice that after my seventeen years in the Convict Settlement my resolute pacifist convictions are as firm as at the beginning.

I went through the Great War of 1914—1918; I endured in the trenches that acute suffering which leaves its lifelong mark on a man; every day I saw the hand of death fall on those around me, and heard the cries of the dying, abandoned without aid on the battlefield.... No! Those horrors, these crimes, all these terrible sufferings are an outrage against humanity and against Heaven.

When, on a pitch-dark night, under a terrible bombardment, I escaped from the trenches of the Somme, I swore that if my life was spared I would spend the rest of my days in striving against this crime of crimes—war!

I believe I have kept my word. I have been loaded with chains, confined within the four walls of a dark cell, deprived of food and comfort, but—what of it?

### ... Spirit Not Broken

A resolute spirit is unassailable, and today my faith is as young and tenacious as ever. You see, dear reader, life is nothing more than a vapour; our stay on our unhappy planet is but a short one; but that which really counts and gives value to this fugitive life is the heart's attachment to a high ideal.

Yes, one must seek something above oneself, and it is this will to run well and always to run better in the path of goodness and beauty which should be the continual leit motif of our earthly existence.

## "We Leave You the Torch to Carry"!

**A**S an old soldier I was deeply touched by the recent article in *Peace News*, "You Have Failed Us" written by a 16-year-old, but I wish him and others to bear in mind the torch is not extinguished yet, that we leave them to carry on. Tomorrow (Saturday) will be Armistice Day, a day impossible for me to forget in more ways than one, having been born at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month.

For years back I have tried to forget I am growing older, but the sound of the maroons has reminded me that time marches on, and on this day of all days my thoughts have gone back to those who have sacrificed their all, in the belief that whatever price they paid, the future generation should never know the horrors of war.

### The Same Bait

I am a thoroughly disappointed man when I see how youth is being led today. The bait that was dangled before our noses is being put before theirs, and whilst our politicians rant and rave about broken promises, the most solemn promise ever made to a nation is lost in the discord of war.

Twenty-one years ago a world gone mad set out to return to sanity. To the bereaved and maimed a grateful country vowed "Never again," whilst one and all swore to keep faith with the Glorious Dead who died that war should be a thing of the past.

### A New Spirit

But, thank heaven, out of the chaos of the last war has risen a new spirit, at least, in some of the men. The spirit of that fine man Dick Sheppard lives, which no emergency act or no power on earth could kill.

Today we are facing the acid test, shall we let him down? The answer to that question youth can best give. As for us elders, whatever we say or do will be feeble compared with the response youth can

## WAR AIMS: 1914 Version

"**W**E began to fight because our honour and our pledge obliged us; but so soon as we are embarked upon the fighting we have to ask ourselves what is the end at which our fighting aims. We cannot simply put the Germans back over the Belgian border and tell them not to do it again. We find ourselves at war with that huge military empire with which we have been doing our best to keep the peace since first it rose upon the ruins of French Imperialism in 1871. And war is mortal conflict. We have now either to destroy or be destroyed. We have not sought this reckoning, we have done our utmost to avoid it; but now that it has been forced upon us it is imperative that it should be a thorough reckoning. This is a war that touches every man and every home in each of the combatant countries....

"We are fighting Germany. But we are fighting without any hatred of the German people. We do not intend to destroy either their freedom or their unity. But we have to destroy an evil system of government and the mental and material corruption that has got hold of the German imagination and taken possession of German life. We have to smash the Prussian Imperialism as thoroughly as Germany in 1871 smashed the rotten Imperialism of Napoleon III. And also we have to learn from the failure of that victory to avoid a vindictive triumph.

"Germany has preached a propaganda of ruthless force and political materialism to the whole uneasy world. 'Blood and Iron,' she boasted, was the cement of her unity, and almost as openly the little, mean, aggressive statesmen and professors who have guided her destinies to this present conflict, have professed cynicism and an utter disregard of any ends but nationally selfish ends, as though it were religion.... (p. 7-9).

"For this is now a war for peace. It aims straight at disarmament. It aims at a settlement that shall stop this sort of thing for ever. Every soldier who fights against Germany now is a crusader against war. This, the greatest of all wars, is not just another war—it is the last war! (p. 11)

"And never was war begun so joylessly, and never was war begun with so grim a resolution....

"There shall be no more Kaisers, there shall be no more Krupps, we are resolved. That foolery shall end. (p. 12)

"We are, I believe, assisting at the end of a vast, intolerable oppression upon civilization. We are fighting to release Germany and all the world from the superstition that brutality and cynicism are the methods of success."

—From *The War That Will End War* Palmer, 1914. By H. G. Wells.

## A Message from an Ex-soldier:

## "We Leave You the Torch to Carry"!

To the young generation I say, we suffered in body and mind, so that you should not know the taste of Hell's Brothel. We cannot stand with you at your tribunals and bear your cross, but we can plead with you to stand firm, take courage, and pray that the torch which we hand to you will be carried on.

E. S. Danes

## Message from Dutch Resister In Jail

From a Correspondent

**G**ERRIT VAN DIJK sends hearty greetings to Alfred Lidster, Rochdale, Leonard Reed, Langham, Colchester; Henry Bloomfield, London, S.E.1; Miss O. Rogers, Manchester; Isobel Tomlins, Worley, Manchester; Mr. W. Stears, Northampton; and Frank Linsdell, Northampton. He thanks them for their kindness in sending him cards and letters.

He would like to thank them himself, but owing to his limited knowledge of English, is unable to write to them. He was able to understand from their letters their good wishes, and sends his own in return.

The war resisters imprisoned at Veenhuizen work through the week, but not on Sundays and this is consequently a very long, dull day. Although once a week visits are permitted from relations, in many cases these boys receive no visits from their parents, who quite frequently refuse to allow them to return to their homes after their term of imprisonment is over.

So perhaps you would make an appeal for cheery messages to be sent to the prisoners at Veenhuizen. Anyone who cares to send messages through me—I write there fairly regularly—should address them to Ethel Doree, 234 Cowley Road, Uxbridge, Middlesex.

## PEACE CALL TO WORLD'S CHRISTIANS

A resolution calling upon the Government to state more precisely its peace terms and to declare, upon their basis, its willingness to enter upon an immediate world conference containing both belligerents and neutrals; and A message for distribution to churches all over the world;

were adopted at a meeting of two thousand people, drawn from London churches and representing the leading denominations, held in London on Saturday. It was organized at very short notice by a group of London ministers.

The resolution was adopted with only a few dissentients, and the message was endorsed unanimously.

It is confidently hoped that the message will reach German Christians on a wide scale. Part of it is addressed to them, in these words—

"We believe there should be no hesitation on their part in facing a new world conference. Obviously, however, it would be of incalculable help, in enabling them to take this step with confidence, if the Christian Churches of Germany could see their way clear, with equal conviction, to make a similar assertion on behalf of the purpose of their own people in this struggle."

"If combined, the Christian public of these great peoples, Germany, France and Britain, though at present entangled in the barren madness of war, can even now prevail to resolve this tragic opposition into a just and enduring peace. They could provide a mutual guarantee that, IN THE NAME OF GOD, they will not tolerate any other kind of settlement.... Let there be daring Christian initiative and action upon this matter, in all places, at whatever cost."

The meeting was greatly moved by speeches delivered by Mr. R. R. Stokes, MP (Roman Catholic); Provost F. D. V. Narborough, of Southwark Cathedral; Rev. Leslie D. Weatherhead, of the City Temple; Rev. Herbert Gray (Presbyterian); and Rev. Albert D. Belden (Congregational).

Read the

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# Britain Can Lead the World Away from War

**T**HIS curious unhostile unwanted war has now been in existence for some weeks and is pursuing an apparently aimless course accompanied by terrific political activity as though all sides were endeavouring to talk themselves out of hostilities as an old lady might delay a burglar by conversation.

Herr Hitler has made an unsuitable offer of peace, and England and France have refused it.

Neither side made any attempt to make a steps towards a position which might have resulted in an ultimate agreement. Both are back on the old futile remedy of force for settling international disputes—quite decided that it is going to fulfil their aims though it has never done so yet.

**E**NOUGH has been said and written of the misery and uselessness of war. It remains only to try and find some methods of stopping it; and these methods, if valid as a preventative, must also be available even after the beginning of hostilities.

Let us call them the sensible and the moral methods.

The first is based on the material advantages obtainable, and the second calls for a treatment from the highest moral thoughts extant in everybody's mind.

To take the first. Germany's leaders have from our point of view appropriated by force several small neighbouring countries and broken their word several times. They are therefore a menace to Europe's peace and must be stopped. Their wish for peace now cannot be accepted unless restitution is done to their victims and their untrusted word is somehow guaranteed.

## Right Attitude

**W**E have taken up a natural and human attitude, but that is not the point. The attitude that should be taken up is that what we do should ensure a better state for Europe's human beings whatever our fears and resentments may be. And war cannot do it.

Now does not sense say this? Here's a man who attacks neighbours and breaks his word. Why does he do it? The answer is acknowledged by all. Because he has sworn an oath to restore his country from the disaster imposed on it by the Versailles Treaty, and because no one has helped him to do it, but have in his view attempted to hinder and stop him.

Cruel and selfish perhaps, but highly patriotic and believed in by the writer. A Psychologist would say to a similar private case: Get that idea out of that man's head. Punishment will only make him worse. His skill and ability, if only it was not repressed, might be of use to the community.

**C**ANNOT this be applied to Herr Hitler without loss of any honour, debts to our allies or accusation of fear, feebleness or defeatism?

In this way. By acknowledging honestly first of all that we were partly to blame for this war by leaving Germany the victim of a cruel treaty and by refusing her advances afterwards, and then sitting fearfully watching her approach to renewed strength, and then generously proposing some step forward which might eventually form part of a ladder to an eventual conference. Does not common sense say that this is more likely to succeed in the end than destruction and misery, and more likely to reinstate the victims?

A bad or patched up peace need not be feared because neutrals all over the world are now all threatened in one way or another, and would regard it as an offer to themselves and gladly offer their services as intermediaries or guarantors.

## Gesture to World

**I**T would be a gesture to the whole world not only to the enemy.

We have told the German people by pamphlet we have no quarrel with them. It would enable us to prove it.

says

## The Earl of DARNLEY

If confidence came instead of hatred we should have the best chance of restoring prosperity to Poland and the other seized countries, and give prosperity instead of anxiety to all other countries in Europe.

It would be a brave unselfish gesture. It would end the senseless shouting of abuse which each side alternatively considers from their point of view to be provocative lies, and the more senseless slaughter.

**T**O the reasoning of common sense could be added that of higher fundamental truth about which we might argue on this line.

Every human being has life and the power of enjoying the using of it. No-one can prove how life came to them further than through the gates of parenthood. Every man has a different idea—some say it is the gift of a divine creator, others say it is chance or fate, and others do not understand or wish to.

But all, down to the meanest, would consider that they had something which was a possession capable of and worthy of appreciation. Also, everyone must acknowledge that this gift becomes most potent and valuable when used in a circulating rather than an isolated manner.

Any form of communal activity increases to a large extent the life force circulating through it and the power or beneficence thereof. For example, a family, a school, a society, or a crowd. In any of these, circulating feelings of positive desire for achievement are obviously magnified. And the more generous and helpful the circulating feeling the more powerful. This has been called variously by critics and teachers of the past, good fellowship, idealism, euphoria, love and (by the Christian religion) God.

## Reasoning Needed

**B**UT in a case where different beliefs and absence of beliefs all have to be persuaded, some basic line of reasoning must be used rather than any particular creed, and this circulating positive power is common to everyone whatever their creed. If this power is agreed to exist, any measure or action that cuts it or stops it, must be equally subversive and depressing to human communal endeavour. It is causing humanity to give up its progression and is in direct opposition to its one beneficial primary desire, and therefore its power is terrible in its effect for the individual and the world.

Now when humanity is faced by a cessation of progress like war which not only stops progress but forces it violently backwards, the results are magnified to an appalling degree. Everyone is forced into begging the question of their existence—perhaps the greatest moral crime of all. And this perhaps explains why the psychological effect of war is much greater than its face value. It is a complete disruption of all individual and natural beneficial instinct and power.

**A**ND just as minor offences by individuals against this force bring reactions described variously as unhappiness, failure, or punishment, so the whole world now contemplates its past efforts and future ideals being thrown into a vast hell which they feel is undeserved.

Now cannot this thought be taken into consideration by some enlightened politician and used for abolishing this war? Can't he put his Sunday or private convictions into world form? Can't he treat national fears like private fears and turn private sympathetic currents into world currents, and can't he realize that it is an innate beneficial urge born of sources unknown, but possessing power that he cannot create, and therefore, not requiring human evidences—sources that are alone really trustworthy to oppose fear, suspicion and war.

There is plenty of proof that it has conquered in many individual cases in the past. Doctors and healers since history began have known and proved that the power of recovery is dependent largely on the mental outlook of the patient and have striven always to make it confidently positive.

Let it be tried before it is too late either to save universal bankruptcy of money or progress.

## Will England Lead?

**C**ANNOT England, usually to the forefront in its treatment of humanity, now take a step which will consolidate it in the front page of humanitarian history for ever. From motives of this sort if not from any other?

We should like in this country to produce a regenerator who would put aside all human evidences, enmities, fears, suspicions and antagonisms; one who would cease to justify his country against another or prejudice results of negotiations; and one who would take his courage and faith in both hands, as the Prime Minister did at Munich, and confer with his adversary till he did succeed in establishing the axioms which he believes himself—that persuasion is better than force, right than wrong, life than death, and faith than fear.

And then indeed would he be able to say, "The nation is solid behind me, but with nothing but confidence and hope in their hearts, and therefore I can go on with my task with no fears and no anxieties, for my path is upward and free."

# Why We Should Renounce War at All Times

**S**EE straight. If you are a Conservative, in a broad way contented with things as they are, owning your own small business perhaps, your own house; or if you are just a wage-earner who believes that the prosperity of your boss means your own prosperity: the continuance of this war will change all that.

Prosperity has gone around the corner. Taxes will go higher, prices will go higher, and businesses, not concentrating upon war production, will tend to become redundant. Many people in our East Coast towns are facing ruin already.

And if you remain, if you stand your ground, increasing Government interference necessitated by war conditions will make it more and more difficult for you to run your business at all.

Is this what you want?

In one industry alone, the transport industry, which may be used as an example, there is centralized control now. The small man is being eliminated. And when the war is over, it is practically certain that the railway companies and the large transport groups will hold the field. Small businesses, to which long years of hopeful effort have been given, will have disappeared.

It is perhaps true that the growth of monopoly combines is a natural economic trend; but war will accelerate disastrously the process.

**I**F you are a Socialist, desiring to replace a competitive system by a system of co-operation, do you think that three years of destructive warfare are likely to bring such a state of things nearer?

You are a Socialist because you deplore the waste of energy and life already implicit in a system of commercial rivalries, and because you think there is no reason why the peoples of the world should not move towards a free, fraternal co-operation. Such moral thinking will be submerged in the passions of hatred and revenge which three years of modern war will foster.

**I**F you are a Liberal, valuing freedom. For the duration that freedom will be curbed. And who will say that after it is all over greater freedom will be enjoyed? Rather the pointers are in the opposite direction.

# "Peace Soldiers" Might Stand Between Armies

**I**N the course of a prolonged war the opportunity might arise for the service of standing between combatants.

So thought the executive committee of the Peace Army, when they considered the situation created by the war. They could not, however, see any immediate way of taking action as an organization. It was therefore agreed that the Peace Army should remain in being as a separate organization, to be ready to carry it out if the opportunity arises and to work for its recognition when the world is reorganized for peace.

In the meantime members are encouraged to undertake whatever form of service seems right to them as Soldiers of Peace. Those who wish to do First Aid, or other humanitarian work, are recommended to enrol with the Pacifist Service Bureau.

It is hoped that the work in Palestine will continue. Two members are settled in the country and doing valuable work of conciliation.

A new leaflet, giving particulars of the Peace Army and its work, has just been published and will gladly be sent to all who apply for it. All correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary, 51a St. Mary's Road, London, W.5.

## N.C.L. Expands in Glasgow

A group of the No Conscription League has now been formed in Govan to serve the needs of the South West areas of Glasgow. The group will meet every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the ILP Rooms, 634 Govan Road, Glasgow, S.W.1.

## J. Clifford King on:

**I**F you are a Christian not all the ingenuities of Archbishops and others will persuade you that "Love your enemies" means wholesale destruction of them and their families.

"Force must be met with force" is a point of view, certainly; but it is not a Christian point of view. And if Archbishops state that it is their point of view, quite simply they are not Christian men.

**I**F you are someone who would like to see Hitler removed, or who would like to hang your washing on the Siegfried Line, you will do well to remember that although you may kill German men who are very like yourself, it is unlikely that you will be given the opportunity to kill Hitler.

**I**F you want to be left in peace war will not leave you in peace.

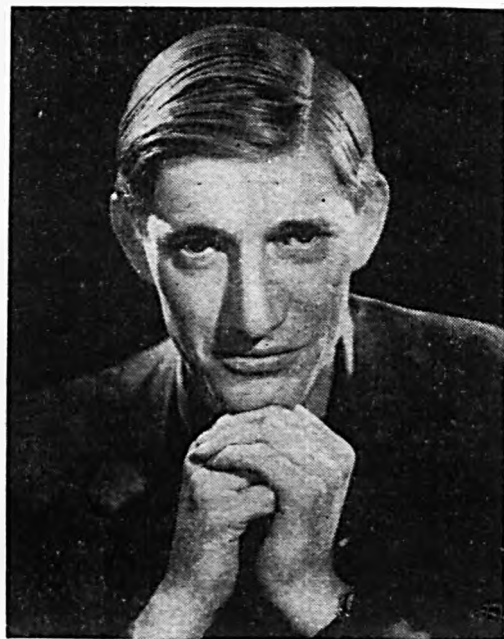
**I**F you are an ordinary, decent person who does not bother much with politics and religion, you are nevertheless embroiled in this war. You want to live. You want to be happy. You do not want to be killed but it is quite likely that you will be killed. You will dig a bayonet into somebody's guts or they will dig their bayonets into your guts dig it in hard, and twist it before they pull it out.

**W**HOEVER you are, the responsibility for continuing the war is yours. The people who compose the Government of this country are human beings like yourself—but most of them older than you are. They say you must fight for freedom, for honour . . . It is not true.

Descent into the bestiality of war cannot be honourable. Freedom is not found in universal conscription, a censored press, and a cessation of Parliamentary elections. However necessary all this may be, it does not make us a freer people.

Fight for freedom, yes. But fight for it by refusing to join in the senseless destruction of what is valuable in human society. Renounce war. Compel your Government—as in a democratic state you have a perfect right to do—to reverse a policy which cannot benefit you, or anybody like you.

# REGINALD REYNOLDS ON THE ILLUSION OF POWER



REGINALD REYNOLDS

shows that the authority of the State, which most people accept without question, is ultimately based on themselves.

I HAVE just been looking at a caricature "capitalist." You know the type—underhung jaw and paunch belly. In some mysterious way he is supposed to devour all those dividends, wearing what he can't eat as clothes on his back or rings on his fingers.

This caricature is the product of a confused mentality, because the first anti-capitalists were, in the nature of things, poor men whose needs were food, clothes and a decent house to live in. Consequently it was difficult for them to think of Power except as a means to more food, more clothes and anything up to a palace.

## What Do They Want?

It never occurred to these ingenuous people or even to their followers of today, for the most part, that this simple "economic" interpretation of social history did not explain the inordinate ambition of a man with a million pounds to turn it into two million. Does such a man hope for more to eat? Or for more clothes? Or for the pleasure of sleeping in a different palace every night of the year?

Those who have known a few capitalists will agree with me that such explanations are utterly inadequate. The poor man's "capitalist" is as wide of the mark as the anthropomorphic God. Quite frequently the capitalist is in real life much more like that dreary figure of whom Chesterton wrote:

*"But Higgins is a Heathen,  
And his slaves grow lean and grey  
That he may drink a pint of milk  
Exactly twice a day."*

★

NOW anyone can see that, if all Higgins wanted was the pint of milk, the mountain of capitalism need not have been long in labour. What Higgins, and all the Higginses, really wanted was Power—not Power as a means to anything in particular, but just Power for its own sake.

And if, as probably happened, Higgins made himself rather unpopular as an employer, then you can bet your life he did what many another rich man has done—landed out dollops of money for all sorts of charities. Why? Because popularity is a form of Power, and unpopularity is its negation.

Hence a man who will twist you in a business deal will stand you an excellent dinner out of the proceeds: he is cute enough to know that your good opinion can be bought with your own money, and nine times out of ten he is right.

## Good Motives

When I say that he is cute enough to know this, I refer to his instinct or that peculiar faculty (which is certainly not intelligence in most cases) that has made him rich. I certainly don't believe that a man consciously sets out to do anything quite so childish as to seek Power. Not as a rule, any way.

Most of us when we want Power have to persuade ourselves that we want it for some Noble Purpose. We want to serve our country or our class, to liberate somebody or something, or alternately to do them a lot of good in spite of themselves (those benighted "natives," for instance).

★

TAKE Hitler. He reminds me of that little man in the story by H. G. Wells, the little man who ran up God's sleeve when God whispered something in his ear on Judgment Day.

Well, he may yet come to that; but as I can't speak with the same authority it's no good my whispering to Hitler—or to Churchill either—that he is still playing

toy soldiers and robbing birds' nests just to show the other boys what a fine fellow he is. Not a bit—they take their games too seriously. Even Napoleon at St. Helena and the Kaiser at Doorn, probably learnt very little about themselves.

That is a first illusion of Power—the fact that few of us will admit Power to be an end and not a means. Those who have no Power share this illusion with those who have. For a while a few attempt to explain things by crude and ridiculous Marxist interpretations, the many are as ready to worship Mammon as Mammon is to be worshipped, and they accept him at his own evaluation.

The Kings of the Gentiles are still called "Benefactors" ("But it shall not be so with you," said Jesus and how the Devil must be laughing today). And the Rich Young Ruler is still ready to be a public philanthropist, but not to sacrifice the whole basis of his social position. Nobody wants to give up being a Ruler in order to become a mere disciple.

★

THE second illusion of Power is that Power is itself, for the most part, an illusion.

Take the Power of the State—any State. Most people obey authority, not because

they agree with it or because it derives from a "democratic" source or for any other rational cause. They obey authority because it is authority and it has never occurred to them to do anything else. It's part of our social hypnosis.

The Government of India frequently refers to itself as "Government by Law Established." That is to say, it derives its authority from the laws which, in virtue of that authority, it has promulgated: which is not reason, but magic. People discussing conscription and other forms of compulsion are often heard to say, "You've got to go. . . . But they'll make you." And so forth. Authority to them is something absolute and unquestionable.

It is this acceptance of authority upon which the Power of the State rests much more than on force or "consent," if consent means an understanding and willing compliance with what is demanded. Even force means, in the last resort, armed men. And these armed men, the instrument of State authority, are themselves terrified of it. Of what? Of a little man with a toothbrush moustache? Of an old man in Downing Street? No, just of the forces such people command—in a word, of themselves.

## The People, Too, Have Power

James Mill, in a memorable passage in his *History of British India*, remarks upon the fact that soldiers who are brave when facing the enemy are easily cowed by their own officers. Yet the power of those officers is simply their power to command

the men themselves.

Thus we get our second illusion, which is the belief that certain people have "Power" over us, when their "Power" is mostly the measure of our own acquiescence. The Power of one man or one group over a community exists just so long as the community on the whole believes in it. Or to put it more positively, in the words of Joseph Southall: "People talk about the workers getting power into their hands. They've already got it: it's in their heads that they want it."

This is the beginning of our solution. In my next article I shall discuss the third and fourth illusion, which may lead us to the remedy. Of this at least I am certain—that peace, justice and liberty are only possible where the pursuit of Power is abandoned.

## SAVE THIS GENERATION! says the Plain Man (Continued from page 1)

It depends upon you and me, and on the mass of the people everywhere, whether they meet soon, in a desire to solve the problems that face the whole of Europe, or whether they meet as victors and vanquished after a long war has taken its toll of life and of sanity.

If it is to be the latter, we know what to expect: another "peace" based on the frantic and futile quest for security and leaving fundamental problems untouched. In that event the last state of Europe will be worse than the first.

Or we can insist on the more sensible course. We can announce that Britain recognizes that the present war is a result of mistakes made on both sides during the past two decades; that while the world allows the law of jungle to rule, with every nation grabbing what it can for itself, conflict is inevitable; and that the wholesale sacrifice of British, French, and German youth is no solution at all.

We can go further, and tell the world that we believe the time has come to lay the foundations of a commonwealth in which all nations shall co-operate for their common good.

Millions know that this is the only way

## Do They Fear The Silence?

The ceremony at the Cenotaph will not be held as there is a danger that the sound of the sirens may be thought to be warning of an air raid.  
Official explanation.

You are too voluble, my Lords, by far,  
And yet your meaning tends to be elusive.  
Is it the sound of sirens that you fear,  
Or is the silence somewhat too accusative?

Ernest Shipp  
(From the November issue of  
*The Adelphi*).

to avoid a future of bloodshed and barbarism. To wait until a long war has resulted in exhaustion before we try to take this way is to be blind to the lesson of the past twenty-one years.

So let us take it now, and save the sons of the last war's victims from being sacrificed in as futile a manner as their fathers were.

The response we should get from the common people everywhere would, I believe, make a continuation of the war an impossibility. And, remember, soon it may be too late.

## EFFECT AND CAUSE

The following appeared in the feature entitled "Old and True" in *The Times*:

*Why do you kill me?—Why! Do you not live on the other side of the water? My friend, if you lived on this side, I should be an assassin, and it would be unjust to kill you like this; but since you live on the other side I am a hero, and it is just.*

"This dog belongs to me," said these poor children; "that is my place in the sun." There is the beginning and image of the usurpation of all the earth.

—PASCAL: "Pensées."

A suitable addition to the second quotation would have been: "When I became a man I put away childish things."

## Wartime Prayer

Give victory to those gangs that in Thine eyes  
Are fit to cast the first bomb from the skies;  
If none such, Lord, then bid the slaughter cease  
And grant the world a non-victorious peace.

JOHN NIBB

## An Anthology of Peace and War Arranged by Vincent Long G. A. Studdert Kennedy

ON June 7, 1917, I was running to our lines half mad with fright, though running in the right direction, thank God, through what had been a wooded copse. It was being heavily shelled.

As I ran I stumbled and fell over something. I stopped to see what it was. It was an undersized, underfed German boy, with a wound in his stomach and a hole in his head. I remember muttering, "You poor little devil, what had you got to do with it? Not much great blonde Prussian about you."

Then there came a light. It may have been pure imagination, but that does not mean that it was not also reality, for what is called imagination is often the road to reality. It seemed to me that the boy disappeared and in his place there lay the Christ upon His Cross, and cried, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my little ones ye have done it unto me."

From that moment on I never saw a battlefield as anything but a Crucifix. From that moment on I have never seen the world as anything but a Crucifix. I see the cross set up in every slum, in every filthy overcrowded quarter, in every vulgar flaring street that speaks of luxury and waste of life. I see Him staring up at me from the pages of the newspaper that tells of a tortured, lost, bewildered world.

Ever and always I can see set up above this world of ours, a huge and towering cross with great arms stretched out East and West, from the rising to the setting sun, and on that Cross my God still hangs and calls on all brave men and women to come out, and share His sorrow and help to save the world.

—The Word and the Work.

Thomas Lodge  
(1555-1625)

PEACE doth depend on reason, war on force,  
The one is human, honest and upright.  
The other brutish fostered by despise.  
The one extreme concluded with remorse,  
The other all injustice doth divorce.  
—A Fig for Momus.

# What C.O.s' Tribunals Mean By Alternative Service

## RESULT OF BARRISTER'S CHALLENGE

For the guidance of conscientious objectors appearing before tribunals, we publish the following article dealing with questions which have recently caused some difficulty—particularly that of alternative service, and how it is interpreted by different tribunals.

By Humphrey S. Moore

RECALLING the fact that already the number of pacifists refusing to engage in military service is equal to half the numbers of those who appeared before tribunals during the four years of the last war, Mr. M. H. Snow, of Maidstone, writes: "Lest this fact should induce an undue complacency it is well to face the fact that there is a more prevalent spirit of compromise amongst us than there was with the pioneers of twenty-five years ago."

"Far too many objectors are willing to take alternative service—either when they are ordered to do so by the tribunal or even before a verdict is pronounced. The man who accepts alternative work on the land, or in ARP, or any other form of so-called 'civilian' work, is helping on the war just as much as the soldier in the front line."

### Non-Combatant Duties

To those who refuse non-combatant duties because "they would be required to patch men up to return to combatant work," because "they would be releasing another man for combatant duty," or even on the ground that "they would not render aid to anyone in uniform" Donald Port, of Gravesend, says:

"No man who recognizes the sanctity of human conscience can possibly attempt to assume responsibility for the actions of an individual who happens to have benefited from medical aid given or from food grown by the former. The real objection to RAMC work, to alternative service, whether as part of the Government war machine, as an alternative to military conscription, or as the price paid for the establishment of a conscientious objection, rests on firmer, less vulnerable ground."

WHATEVER a conscientious objector may feel about the principle of accepting or refusing any of the various alternatives to military service which are offered, in practice it is by no means always as simple an issue as is suggested by Mr. Snow's perfectly true remarks (later in his letter) that "if alternative service were not of assistance to the Government—and to the prosecution of war—it would not be offered."

### How Tribunals Differ

It is not only that it is difficult to face the consequences of refusal—which (as Mr. Snow also points out) are slight in comparison with what the soldier has to face—but that, in some circumstances at any rate, it is difficult to make sense of a refusal! Take, for example, the experience of

### Greatest of Our Liberties

IN the last "war to end war" there was some doubt as to whether DORA permitted detention in an internment camp, until, in the House of Lords, all the Law Lords except one ruled that it did. This time the Government has made sure there will be no doubt about it.

The remarks of that dissenting judge (Lord Shaw of Dunfermline) are worth recalling now:

"No trial; proscription. The victim may be 'regulated'—not in his course of conduct or of action, not as to what he should do or avoid doing. He may be regulated to prison or the scaffold. . . ."

"Vested with this power or proscription, and permitted to enter the sphere of opinion and belief, they, who alone can judge as to public safety and defence, may reckon a political creed their special care, and if that creed be socialism, pacifism, republicanism, the persons holding such creeds may be regulated out of the way, although never deed was done or word uttered by them that could be charged as a crime."

"The inmost citadel of our liberties would be thus attacked. For, as Sir Erskine May observes, this is 'the greatest of all our liberties—liberty of opinion.'"

pacifists in three cities—London, Manchester, and Birmingham.

The London tribunal has fairly consistently been giving, as alternatives to military service, either non-combatant duties or (to those who remain on the register of conscientious objectors, and apparently regardless of their present occupation) any work in agriculture, forestry, or the mercantile marine—to be found by the applicant within a month (or the case will go before the tribunal again).

Not many will deny that the former duties are directly helping the war. It is still necessary to point out, however, that they do not only include "helping the doctors, helping to pay them, and helping to feed them" (as Judge Longson summed up the RAMC, RAPC, and RASC—the only services he mentioned under this head—at Birmingham on Monday).

According to the National Service (Armed Forces) Miscellaneous Regulations, 1939, non-combatant duties also include the labour corps.

The latter will be required to perform, in addition to normal administrative duties, special labour duties such as:—

- (a) Construction of Recreation Grounds;
- (b) Improvement of Camping Sites;
- (c) Drainage of Training Areas;
- (d) Agricultural work, i.e., the growing of crops for consumption by the troops;
- (e) Filling in of trenches.

As already reported in *Peace News*, all conscientious objectors whose cases have been dealt with in this way, irrespective of the corps to which they are posted, will be given training in: (a) Foot drill, without arms; (b) Physical training; (c) Passive air defence; (d) Anti-gas, and (e) Decontamination or Rearward Areas.

### Alternative Service in Last War

And, recalling the experience of those put into the Army for non-combatant duties only in the last war (from which they were never, apparently, transferred to combatant duties), it is safe to assume that such duties may include, specifically, dock work, loading rifles, shells, &c.—in fact anything but actually using arms.

Similarly, it would seem fairly clear that anyone actually leaving his present occupation and taking up work specified by the tribunal would be "of assistance . . . to the prosecution of the war," or else "it would not be offered."

Nor is the principle affected by the fact that at Manchester the local advisory bureau has been informed by the Ministry of Labour that they regard the alternative service condition of exemption as being satisfied if the CO only applies at the local Labour Exchange for such a job. But in practice, especially in view of the fact that agriculture in particular provides few if any vacancies, it may well mean at least a postponement of the matter, and possibly even a shelving.

### How Can They Refuse?

But how is one to refuse work of National importance as interpreted by the Birmingham tribunal this week?

In the first of a long series of similar cases, the chairman said: "Within a reasonable time you should undertake work of national importance. It is not for me to indicate exactly what that may be, because I do not know what your qualifications are. But if you care to get into touch with the Ministry of Labour they will help you—not direct you, but help you to place yourself."

These are our italics, but in every one of the cases (which sometimes varied, according to occupation, to provide that the applicant had to stay at his job if he could not otherwise find "some" other work of national importance) the chairman emphasized that the Ministry of Labour would not dictate what the applicant should do. Indeed, the wording of the decision was

sometimes such as to suggest even more definitely that the objector would be the judge of what is "of national importance"—which is nothing less than the very basis of most "absolutists'" claim to complete exemption!

Moreover, not all pacifists are engaged in peace work full-time (in the usual sense of the word!), so that they would not necessarily be prevented by alternative service from carrying on such work. This was pointed out to Arnold Danelis (who has been active in organizing young pacifists) by the South-Eastern tribunal (meeting last week at Southwark)—though it must be added that subsequently the same tribunal directed that at least two applicants should not only continue their present employment but also join the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

But in any case few would be able to refuse to continue the work they were, as pacifists, perfectly happy in before it was deemed by a tribunal to be "of national importance"—especially when it is insisted (as it is particularly by the London tribunal) that anyhow *everything* is "subordinated to the armed forces" in time of war. What, for example, of the man who, to support his war-disabled father, worked in a cinema part of the day and spent all his spare time working on their bit of land, and whom the South-Eastern tribunal registered as a CO so long as he goes on working on his holding?

NEVERTHELESS, in two or three of the cases on Monday where the Birmingham tribunal decided that the applicant was to find work which he considered to be of national importance exception was taken to the decision. In one case, which had been adjourned from last week, the chairman read a statement in which he said:

"Last Monday, an applicant to this tribunal named Dunn was represented by Mr. Norman Carr (a barrister) who, having satisfied us that Dunn was conscientious in his beliefs, submitted that, in the circumstances, we were obliged to place his name on the register of conscientious objectors without condition."

"The circumstances are that Dunn is doing office work for a firm of caterers, and was certainly a conscientious objector on all three

continued on p. 12

## Tribunals' Decisions In Brief

IN the following classification of results of hearings at various tribunals, A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service:

| LONDON<br>(Oct. 30 & 31 & Nov. 1 & 3) |    |    |      |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|------|
| A                                     | .. | .. | None |
| B                                     | .. | .. | 30   |
| C                                     | .. | .. | 35   |
| D                                     | .. | .. | 13   |
| Total ..                              |    |    | 78   |

| BIRMINGHAM<br>(Nov. 6) |    |    |      |
|------------------------|----|----|------|
| A                      | .. | .. | 1    |
| B                      | .. | .. | 28   |
| C                      | .. | .. | None |
| D                      | .. | .. | 3    |
| Total ..               |    |    | 32   |

| SOUTH-EASTERN (Southwark)<br>(Nov. 1 & 3) |    |    |    |
|-------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A                                         | .. | .. | 2  |
| B                                         | .. | .. | 22 |
| C                                         | .. | .. | 10 |
| D                                         | .. | .. | 2  |
| Total ..                                  |    |    | 36 |

| SOUTH-WESTERN (Bristol)<br>(Oct 31 & Nov. 1 & 2) |    |    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A                                                | .. | .. | 40 |
| B                                                | .. | .. | 33 |
| C                                                | .. | .. | 7  |
| D                                                | .. | .. | 1  |
| Total ..                                         |    |    | 81 |

Decisions deferred (for credentials or to determine nature of alternative service) .. 7

### What People Are Reading

"Published over three years ago, Bertrand Russell's *Which Way to Peace* has enjoyed a considerably increased sale since the outbreak of war, reports Michael Joseph. Other books published by the same firm showing increased sales are George Lansbury's *My Quest for Peace*, and the late Brigadier-General Crozier's *The Men I Killed*—the book which created a tremendous controversy two years ago."

—The Bookseller, October 26.

## STILL MORE CALLS FOR PEACE NOW

Demands for an armistice continue to grow in many quarters. as is shown by the following reports.

### Task for International Labour Office

ADDRESSING a Manchester meeting, the Rev. Henry Carter offered the practical suggestion "that the International Labour Office at Geneva should be charged straightway with the duty of preparing proposals for world economic co-operation. The frankly stated aim should be to remedy as far as practicable the causes of economic destitution, to raise the general standard of living and culture, and to repair the fearful wreckage now being wrought by war."

The ILO had the active support of nearly all the neutral nations, he said, and its present director was a distinguished American citizen.

### Welsh Liberals Support Conference Proposal

A resolution from the Denbighshire Liberal Association was the subject of a lively discussion at the annual meeting of the North Wales Liberal Federation last week.

The resolution expressed confidence in the justice of the cause for which the Allies had taken a resolute stand and a consciousness of the unlimited resources at their command, and called upon Liberal members of Parliament to impress upon the Government that the time was opportune for convening a world conference with a view to putting an end to the arbitrament of war.

During the course of the discussion Mr. Tom Roberts, of Colwyn Bay, said it would be worth having a conference to save the life even of only one British boy.

Mr. T. Waterhouse: Not with dishonour. Mr. Roberts: There is no dishonour suggested in the proposal and no suggestion that we should yield anything ourselves.

The resolution was carried by 34 votes to 14.

### Unionists Urge Conference

The following resolution was carried unanimously at a recent meeting of the

Abergavenny Trades Council and Labour Party:

"We, the Abergavenny Trades Council and Labour Party call upon the Labour Party Executive Committee to withdraw their support from the Government, and to start a campaign to end the war, and to protect Trade Union and civil liberties."

The resolution was moved and seconded by Labour members of the Peace Pledge Union.

### Birkenshaw Labour Party's Plea

At a recent meeting of the Birkenshaw Labour Party the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"That in the opinion of this party, the present war is a capitalist war and, whatever the result, can only mean the further misery and impoverishment of the workers in all lands."

"That we disagree profoundly with the professed aims of the British Government which differ little with the war aims of 1914 to 1918 which produced the ill-famed Treaty of Versailles, and produced such war crimes as the destruction of military despotism of the Kaiser, the war to end war for ever, and to make England a land 'fit for heroes to live in.'"

"That this party calls on the Parliamentary Labour Party to press for an immediate armistice before any further lives have been lost and before the world gives itself up to anarchy and destruction, and further to press for the calling of a world conference of all the nations so that a world of plenty can be adjusted to meet the economic needs of all."

### Clerks Demand Armistice

A resolution was passed at a meeting of the East London general branch of the National Union of Clerks recently demanding an immediate armistice and the calling of a conference of the Great Powers, including Great Britain, Germany, France, USSR, and the USA, to discuss peace terms.

## BOOKS

# How Peaceful Change May Be Secured

By ROY WALKER

War, Peace and Change. By John Foster Dulles. Macmillan. 7s 6d.

THERE are few contemporary works on international affairs which deserve careful study and it is much to be hoped that in the general deluge War, Peace and Change will not escape attention.

Mr. Dulles is not an inexperienced theorist, nor is he one of those superficial observers who scavenge news-items about the Great Powers in order to strike unfavourable contrasts and to draw equally superficial morals of the need for armaments and alliances. His preface at once reveals that the book is concerned with more fundamental considerations:

"There has been a grave misconception of the nature of peace. Peace has been identified with the ability of a few satisfied Powers to maintain the status quo. Appeal to force is the inevitable product of a world society made up of sovereign States, as between which there exists no rule of law and over which there presides no superior authority to balance the static and dynamic desires which are characteristic of any society."

## Ethics and Politics

We have already evolved forms of society capable of enduring the changes essential to a developing civilization and largely eliminating the periodical disruption and squandering of spiritual and material resources inseparable from violent revolution, and the author maintains that the tendencies which have encouraged the growth of these cultural units will be equally valid for the improvement of international relations, if properly applied. He distinguishes and defines these tendencies as "ethical" and "political."

"The one involves primarily the attainment of a spiritual state conducive to harmony with one's fellows. Satisfaction is rendered possible by the suppressing of certain types of desire or by the developing of new desires reconcilable with the desires of others."

"The political solution, on the other hand, operates essentially in terms of conduct rather than of states of mind. Rules are set up to determine what acts are permissible to gratify desires and what acts must be suppressed."

"While thus the 'ethical' and 'political' solutions are essentially different in their approach and essentially supplementary to each other, in practice they are frequently combined."

But neither principle is at present efficacious in the sphere of international relations. The breakdown of the ethical principle is traced to the fact that group authorities—governments—are not deemed to have a duty to promote the general welfare but only that of their constituents, and to other contributory causes, e.g., the tendency of selfishness to be limited to those in propinquity.

The political solution falls short in the international field because "Laws, if they are to be acceptable substitutes for force, must establish a fair balance between static and dynamic desires." This condition is obviously unattainable in a world where the first duty of governments is supposed to be the promotion of the welfare of their own peoples, and where this duty is persistently given a short-term interpretation. Policies of expediency are attributable not only to the shortsighted-

ness of statesmen but to the demand by electorates of quick and tangible results.

## Power-Politics Behind Treaties

Another reason for the breakdown of the political solution is to be found in a belief very prevalent among governments. This is the conflict ideology, found in many religions as the continual struggle between God and Devil, and in modern ultra-nationalism as the Hero-Nation v. Villain-Nation concept.

"Group authorities feel dependent for internal cohesion and effectiveness upon the existence of external groups which inspire a sense of peril and arouse competitive instincts."

The existing treaty-network seems at first to refute the statement that no international law exists, and the author—himself a distinguished international lawyer who has had practical experience of treaty-making—does valuable service by exposing the true nature of most of these "agreements." We are shown that the majority of treaties are no more than moves in the game of power-politics and that they fail to meet those tests which make laws workable and acceptable substitutes for force within a State.

Mr. Dulles then continues his examination of the use by group authorities of the external threat and shows that the intensification of this tendency into the exaggerated Nation-Hero v. Nation-Villain propaganda of modern nationalism is the essential prerequisite of war—totalitarian war as he rightly describes it, in contrast with the wars of the past fought by professional armies.

## False Ideas

Thus the creative process may be short-circuited. Man makes certain sacrifices in order to obtain the benefits of living in society. But his society becomes personified as a selfish non-sacrificing entity unwilling as a nation to make the sacrifices which would obtain the benefits of living in a society of nations.

If the support of the peoples can be obtained by emotional manipulations, war between these selfish unreal nation-entities becomes possible.

"The voluntary entry of a people into warfare of this character cannot be explained on the basis of our premise as to the essentially selfish character of human beings. Such a war is a supreme manifestation of emotional unselfishness."

Anti-war policies based solely on rearmament, disarmament, the League, Sanctions, and so on, are dismissed as false or inadequate. They are seen as attempts to deal not with the disease but with symptoms.

On the ethical side the author sees as the prime necessities the removal of the other-nation-villain concept, and the dilution of the concept of one's own State as quasi-deity and sole benefactor.

## Immediate Objectives

As immediate political objectives he believes that any effective procedure should be designed to:

"deal with national boundaries so as to obviate the obsessions and abnormalities consequent upon a sense of arbitrary restraint and to do away with exaggerated subservience to one's own State as the sole source of economic opportunity."

(The full value of this proposal can only be appreciated when it is related to Dr. Dulles' interesting analysis of the evolution of dynamic demands in international relations. The demand, he believes, is usually moderate at first and could be largely met by according suitable moral and social status to the dissatisfied State. The next stage in intensity is the demand for political and economic influence beyond the confines of national territory. The most acute stage is a demand for increased national territory, involving a transfer from one sovereign to another. The demands only become more intense and more unreasonable if ignored in the earlier stages. Examples are given from the recent history of Germany, Italy and Japan.)

"Secure through voluntary action (or preferably through the medium of an impartial international agency) such elasticity in the treaty structure of the world as would avoid rigidities which cannot but be broken by the inexorable requirements of change."

In the dead-letter Article 19 of the Covenant of the League Mr. Dulles sees the germ of possible development along these lines. He fully realizes that an attempt by the democracies to set up any binding international authority would be met at the beginning with genuine mistrust.

Of England, France and the United States he writes "Their ministrations produced three great despotisms—Germany, Italy and Japan." The democratic manipulation of the League has left the world in an incalculably difficult position. "If, however, there were genuine acceptance by the status quo Powers of a new philosophy, this in itself would have a profound influence."

These are short-term objectives. But we are warned that long-range objectives must not be ignored. Human beings must not remain at the mercy of mass-emotion which can be exploited by the unscrupulous or the fanatical, nor should the present inroads on individual liberty be perpetuated.

The reader will have gathered that an incredibly wide field is covered in one hundred and seventy pages and it is a tribute to the author that the high intellectual quality and lucidity of exposition does not once falter. The pacifist critic can do nothing but applaud—and recommend.

(NOTE: This review was written before the outbreak of war.—Ed.)

## New Venture at Basque House

THE house at Langham, leased by the Peace Pledge Union, which has maintained some sixty Basque children in it for the past two years, became vacant on September 25.

It is felt that the original purpose of the Adelphi Centre may best be preserved if the house and the land belonging to it (about 29 acres) can be made of genuine social service on a voluntary basis. To this end it is proposed that, as soon as the necessary repairs and renewals are carried out, a two-fold scheme should be undertaken.

First, the formation of a land-settlement colony to develop a comprehensive market-gardening scheme, and secondly the making of a convalescent home for poorer members of ARP and demolition squads working in cities who may be suffering from excessive fatigue or shell-shock.

Fortunately the house has not so far been requisitioned. But it is obvious that if Basque House is to retain its character, the first necessity is that it should be tenanted immediately and be able fully to justify its subsequent existence.

In view of this urgency the staff of *The Adelphi* Magazine is moving to Basque House to start the work of repair and redecoration and make plans for the future on the spot.

The degree of social service and provision for those who may stand in dire need of some sort of city of refuge in the days to come will, it is pointed out, depend upon the generosity and sacrifice of sympathizers with the project.

Further particulars may be obtained from Max Plowman, Basque House, Langham, near Colchester, Essex.

## Pacifist Ex-Soldier Released

Mr. L. J. Daventry has just been released from the Aldershot Detention Barracks and writes to say that owing to the publicity established through *Peace News* he received many letters of cheer and friendship. He was unable to reply to them and he is now attempting to answer as many as he can, and as soon as possible.

He adds: "I am no longer commanded to take up arms or do combatant work, but am being transferred to the Medical Corps. As this, in my opinion, is humane work, I have no objection to this action and will do my best to attain a high standard of proficiency."

## A Catholic on War

Morality and War. Gerald Vann, O.P. Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

THIS Dominican monk, although holding that war is not explicitly forbidden either by the Gospels or the main body of subsequent Christian teaching, nevertheless urges a most strenuous searching of conscience on this question. For one with his outlook the real problem lies in the methods of modern warfare, among the characteristics of which the Christian conscience must be challenged at least by the following:

(a) The mutilation of the inmost core of human personality, which extends far beyond physical injury, all individual values being in the end destroyed by their subordination to the needs of the warring state. To the Christian this is the greatest crime because what ultimately matters to the relation of the soul to God and the human person is therefore the supreme earthly value.

(b) The evil consequences of war extend in the world far beyond the bounds of the combatant nations.

(c) The official dissemination of hatred by means of propaganda ministries.

(d) The direct attack upon civilian populations including women and children.

The dilemma arising from the conflicting claims of Christ and Caesar, to both of whom loyalty is due, takes its most acute form in the conscience of the man convinced of the justice of the cause for which his country is fighting but yet seeing the evil characteristics of war to be so great that he cannot participate without doing violence to his Christian convictions. Father Vann is categorical that in such a case loyalty to the State may be sacrificed but there can be no compromise in following Christ.

Written during the summer of the present year, the book pleads for Christian unity in the face of impending catastrophe. The Christian is called upon to fight unceasingly for the spiritual values of liberty,

justice, culture and goodness, the existence of which is today threatened by the marshalling of the powers of darkness under the lead of militant and aggressive paganism.

It is our eternal duty to fight against evil, but we must do so without ourselves adopting evil means. "Christendom will re-create itself by Christian means or it will perish completely." We are faced with a terrible but inescapable dilemma, the solution of which may ultimately lie, in the author's view, in the resurrection of the eternal values after the forces of barbarism have triumphed and crumbled again.

Henry Ecroyd

## 6<sup>D</sup>. THE ADELPHI 6<sup>D</sup>.

Postage 1d.

(Edited by Max Plowman)

Postage 1d.

November number. Every pacifist will want to read Middleton Murry's important article "The Way to Peace." Other topical and interesting items include "The Bogey of Hitlerism" by the Editor, "Courage in the Mountains" by Geoffrey West, "The Limitations of the English Mind" by Alys Gregory and a fine story by Walter J. Clapham "Full Circle."

The October number was sold out and is now unobtainable. Apply at once for a November copy to:—

The Adelphi, Basque House, Langham, nr. Colchester, Essex.

Only 3s. for six months, post free.

## Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

Ven. ARCHDEACON HARTILL

Rev. CANON CHARLES E. RAVEN

Rev. P. B. SCRUTTON

will speak at the

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB

Binney Street, W.1.  
(Opposite Selfridges)

On Wednesday, November 15,  
at 6.30 p.m.

ADMISSION FREE

Further particulars from Hon Organising Secretary, c/o 47 Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Misrepresentation

IT is quite true, as Vera Brittain points out in her article, that the policy of the Peace Pledge Union has been deliberately misrepresented.

I know also, as a reader of the *Daily Worker*, that the Communist Party has performed a remarkable political somersault. I am also a reader of *Action* and the implication (in column 4 of Vera Brittain's article) that the Fascist Party has changed its policy is quite untrue.

A protest against misrepresentation is much more effective if it does not itself use the same method.

GERALD WYNNE.

8a, Station Parade, Belmont,  
Harrow, Middx.

I learn that, owing to some very inaccurate statements made in the House of Commons and, perhaps, to misconceptions due to other causes, an idea is current that the British Council for Christian Settlement in Europe is permeated with persons desirous of setting up a Fascist regime in this country and even acting as secret Nazi agents.

May I, as one who is intimately associated with the work of the Council and of the British People's Party from which it sprang, assure pacifist friends that there is not the slightest foundation for these foolish rumours. The pub-

lished list of the names of those who favoured the formation of the Council is not the list of the Council membership which, incidentally, includes no former members of the Anglo-German society known as "The Link." Not all of those whose names appear on the list are even members of the British People's Party.

Of the personal character and activities of all who were formerly associated with "The Link" I am in no position to judge, but I do know that those former members of "The Link" who are now associated with the British People's Party are no more desirous of introducing tyranny and racial persecution into this country than are the members of the PPU.

Of those formerly associated with Sir Oswald Mosley's Party who are now members of the British People's Party I can say the same. In view of the utter hopelessness of the policy of the older political parties on the all-important questions of finance and war, no fair-minded person should judge harshly those who in desperation have tried the experiment of temporary co-operation with allies who, on these issues at least, exhibit a measure of sanity rare in a mad world.

Adversity can make strange bedfellows and wise men who have the misfortune to live in a country governed by those who listen to the voice of numbers but very rarely to the voice of reason, may often be driven to serve, or use, colleagues they would not have chosen under happier circumstances, by reason of substantial differences in outlook.

TAVISTOCK.

Cairmore, Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire.

### READERS' VIEWS ON PEACE TERMS

I SUGGEST that the following message to the German people be made into a leaflet and used in the next "Leaflet Raid." TO THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY FROM THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It has been repeatedly declared by the Statesmen of this country that we have no quarrel with you, the people of Germany, but only with your leaders.

We, the people of Great Britain, recognize that only you have the right to choose the form of government under which you shall live; any change must be of your own free will and not imposed by outside force.

We admit that the Treaty of Versailles dictated to you after the last war, has been the cause of most of the troubles which have arisen during the past twenty years, and although this admission is belated, we hope you will accept it as freely and frankly as we make it.

For the future, we recognize that you have equal rights with ourselves to the fullest possible life lived in an atmosphere of peace.

We, therefore, declare our willingness:—

- (1) To agree to a truce to the present conflict on terms to be proposed by representatives of three neutral countries. (We suggest America, Italy and one of the Scandinavian States.)
- (2) To enter with generosity and good will, into a world conference which these three neutral representatives be asked to promote, for the unrestricted examination of all outstanding problems—territorial, colonial, economic and financial—and to press for early and amicable settlement.
- (3) To discuss at that conference, honestly and without reserve, the subject of disarmament, realizing that only in a disarmed world can real peace, security and prosperity be won.

Will you join with us in this effort by urging upon your government the acceptance of these proposals.

Stitchley.

C.D.

We can agree with the utter Jingoism... There can be no lasting peace till Germany is utterly destroyed...

Such utter destruction could only mean the wiping out of all the European frontiers, in a tariff and currency sense.

I do believe that, were this offered, Hitler would be glad to go to Doorn, his work completed more successfully than he dreamed possible.

A federal currency, a federal law, a common dole system the same everywhere, and freedom to let present languages and cultural systems go on, is surely the Ultimate

Regarding the proposed peace terms put forward by the National Peace Council, how can we hope that the Nazi, having hitherto shown himself both treacherous to foreigners and bullying to his own subjects, could possibly be a suitable candidate to sit on any board of Federated International Government? Such international control may come when we have shown ourselves (and when they have shown themselves) able to govern the territories they now occupy, with justice. Probably it would then be no longer necessary.

There have doubtless been faults in our own methods of colonial government, but

Europe. WHY NOT OFFER IT NOW?  
JOHN DENNIS.

High Snab, Newlands.

Keswick, Cumberland.

P.S.—This means India MUST have Dominion status and a lot of other things.

That India's self-government should be regarded as an essential objective of British policy, as stated on page 1 of your October 27 issue, does, I think, explode the theory of the sanctity of democracy.

Less than ten percent of the natives of India are enfranchised, or are literate, and a programme of Indian self-government, if achieved, would mean only an exchange of masters, the Civil Servant—usually disinterested—for a certainly less disinterested Gandhivallah.

I, and every pacifist, must admire Mr. Gandhi's pacific means of progress: towards the expulsion of the white man, but Congress, and a small Communist party are by no means so pacifically minded. Democracy in India would probably result in a religious war against the Moslems and in disunity of purpose. The British peace, such as it is, is preferable to a reversion to barbarism.

Democracy had it had its way in Turkey would have led Turkey, not to rehabilitation under Kemal—though he was certainly no pacifist—but to a State similar to the superstitious and corrupt government of the Sultans.

Democracy is no proof of virtue, the majority is too often wrong and too bigoted to see that they are wrong after events have conclusively proved this to be so.

The greatest fallacy of the time is that a democratic State is free. The confusion of liberty and compulsion reminds one of Socrates' words, true of pacifists today as of philosophers in Athens, "No man will ever be safe who stands up boldly against you or against any other majority, and who condemns the crimes that are committed in the State." The principal crime in the State is, I suggest, the revived press-gang of conscription.

JOHN S. ROWLANDS.

31 Marlowe Road, Cambridge.

AS I see it, those of us who oppose war fall into two main groups at the moment.

The first group regards this war as the inevitable outcome of a thoroughly immoral order of society. This immorality expresses itself in every form of living—politically, in the principle of "each man for his own vested interests"; socially, in the "privileged classes" who don't deserve their privileges economically, in the capitalist system whereby one person makes profit from the needs and labours of others; the whole being blessed by State churches, whose philosophy was so well expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's modernized version of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

"This war, then, is but a boil on a diseased body politic. To poultice the boil is not enough, the body must be cleansed. The cure can only be found in the way of life of the individuals making up society. There must be a better, cleaner way of living, based on an attitude to one's fellows that is decent and good."

To this first group the war is incidental; the varying degrees to which they will or will not compromise with the war machine is unimportant. The good life must be lived, whether it be at the end of a stretcher, on a farm or in an office. They argue, quite logically, that one cannot escape the war machine, so why quibble?

The second group feels that their primary duty now is to stop the war, the war-

time equivalent of renouncing war being to denounce it. Just as soldiers leave everything to go off and do what they believe to be their duty when it calls—so must pacifists also. The war is on, and pacifists are now in direct opposition to the State, they are rebels and revolutionaries, and at the risk of imprisonment or worse they must defy the war machine at every possible point. Truth is the first casualty in war, the whole prosecution of war is based on falsehoods and distortion of the truth. Therefore the task of the pacifist is to bear witness to the truth, by all methods of propaganda, even if it be considered as sedition or treason.

There, broadly stated, are the two attitudes within the PPU. Each, of course, has its various ramifications and differing approaches. To my mind, there is not only room, but a necessity, for both. It is questionable whether they can be wholly and equally combined in the one individual, for each of us will have a temperamental bias towards one or the other.

But there is a very real danger in adopting the one attitude to the exclusion of the other. There are already signs of this happening and the danger is not only to the individual but to the PPU itself.

The extremists of the first group either tend to become monastic, laying themselves open to the gibe that it is now not ARP that spells ostrich, but PPU, or else they throw themselves so wholeheartedly into ambulance work, &c., that they become a definite help to the war machine, without any idea of opposing it.

Their opposite numbers, realizing that the stopping of this war is a question of immediate politics, have discarded their 100 per cent pacifism and have descended to the depths of present-day politics, using any expediency and small-talk argument in their scramble for peace. The result is misunderstanding and some questionable allies.

The time may have come for us to enter further into the realm of politics, though God forbid that the PPU, as such, should ever become a political party. But as we enter, our faces must be set steadfastly towards the light of pure pacifism. That full phrase of Blake's might well be used as the keynote of our propaganda: "Religion is politics, politics is brotherhood." Why cannot we have a Manifesto, and Peace Aims, and other uncompromising 100 per cent pacifist literature issued now on that basis, so that all may see that our case for stopping the war is, quite simply, because our "politics is brotherhood."

The need is great at this moment for toleration in the PPU, but that is no reason for caution and compromise. There is a great opportunity at this moment for us to be heard and our presence felt. I do not think we are being bold enough or outspoken enough either in our words or deeds.

If the two elements to which I have referred are complimentary, then they must support each other, without any thought of the sacrifices that may have to be made. And the framework of the PPU organization exists to assist them in this.

DAVID SPRECKLEY.

### Evacuation Problems

Amongst the many problems of evacuation, one appears to have been overlooked. Emphasis has been placed on the physical comforts of school children in their billets, but Pacifists and International Socialists should be also concerned about the ideas which will influence their children in their new homes.

It will be a serious matter if children from anti-war homes are to spend the duration of war under the influence of a spurious war-time patriotism. Could the PPU organize the reception of children from such homes into houses of members or sympathetic friends?

Catholics are already keeping an eye on Catholic children, it is up to Pacifists to do the same. Billeting officers will now place difficulties in the way of changing billets, but at least in the cases of school children, whose ideas are still plastic, it cannot be too strongly urged that persistence should be shown in obtaining such transfers.

EDGAR S. PLAYER.

12 Preston Drive, Wanstead, E.11.

### Peasants in Russia

I notice in last week's *Peace News* that Reginald Reynolds states that the peasants in Poland will be no better off under Soviet Russia than they were under the Polish aristocracy.

This is surely incorrect. The land has been divided up and given to the peasants, and the illiterate people will receive education. For the first time they will be allowed to use their own language.

The Jews, who were persecuted by the Polish capitalists and landlords, will be treated as equals under Russia.

It is misleading to say that they will not be better off, for they already are.

ALBERT MCCARTHY.

14 Colebrook Avenue, Shirley,  
Southampton.

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

ALAN HADFIELD.  
Green Leas, Punchnoll, Dorset.

I have been faced with the question, as no doubt many others have been, what constructive contribution do Pacifists offer to the problem of war.

Many suggestions of an international character and constructive nature of what can be done, have been made in *Peace News*, and I am sure if the machinery for putting into operation these ideas could be set into motion our cause would be greatly strengthened.

Neither of the main political parties will adopt the pacifist standpoint, and I feel it is time that a party should be formed to give expression to the growing body of pacifist opinion which exists today. I shall be pleased to hear from any of your readers who are interested.

E. W. BALES.

c/o St. Pancras Building Society,  
St. Pancras House, 105 Parkway, N.W.1.

## BASQUE HOUSE STILL NEEDS YOUR HELP

By FRANK B. MIDDLETON,  
Treasurer, P.P.U. Basque Fund

**DURING** the period June, 1937, to September, 1939, there has passed through my hands, as Treasurer of the Basque Fund, the enormous sum of £6,036 contributed by individual members of the PPU, by PPU groups and by other sympathizers. Of the sixty Basque children maintained by the generosity of these contributors, twenty-five have rejoined their parents, twenty-four have been placed in private homes where the children are either continuing their education or being trained in domestic or nursing work. All are known to be happy and in good health. The remainder have gone to the Margate Colony, where we are still maintaining them at the rate of 10s. 6d. a head per week.

Altogether this has been an achievement of which the PPU might justly feel proud. There remains, however, the question of handing back the Basque House to the landlords in a similar condition to that in which it was originally taken over.

Sixty energetic children during a period of over two years can take the gloss off the paint and cause other minor dilapidations. Such things as crockery, bedding, &c., need to be replaced. I have just received an estimate of over £500 from the Assessors, being the sum required to put these things right.

The PPU must rightly meet this charge and the National Council has accepted the liability. There is not, however, any fund from which the cost of the dilapidations can be met. The total cost of maintenance so far has exceeded the £6,036, received in contributions, by £114, the latter amount being the actual deficit on the Basque Fund to date.

This information is given in the hope that those who have not so far contributed towards the Basque Fund will send a contribution to enable the "means" to be found wherewith to satisfactorily "end" this admirable piece of Pacifist Endeavour.

Send it to me at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

### An Armistice Idea

A correspondent suggests that the best way for pacifists to observe Armistice Day is to go individually to the Cenotaph at 11 a.m., wearing white peace poppies, and to stand together there during the silence.

A few have already decided to do this and they will have spare poppies five minutes beforehand for those without them.

The Peace Pledge Union feels that any observance should be of a private character.

### MEETINGS FOR P.P.U. MEMBERS

On Saturday next, November 18, there will be an open meeting for Peace Pledge Union members in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1, at 7 p.m.

Meetings for group leaders are held at the same address on the first Tuesday in each month; on other Tuesdays there are open meetings for London members.

## John Barclay on:

# NOVEMBER 11, 1939

"THE men who died in the war of 1914 died in vain," said a hopeless relative of one of them to me the other day. It is this tragic truth that is so hard to accept, especially by those who lost husbands or sons.

For twenty years they have stood in silence on Armistice Day, hoping and praying that we who lived would realize that their sacrifice was futile unless we built a world of friends.

This year the silence is no longer permitted "as the sirens might be mistaken for air raid warnings."

The grim irony of this bald official statement needs no comment.

Although there is to be no public silence, there can be a private vow from all those who have not broken faith with the dead. We who have renounced war and pledged ourselves never to support or sanction another clean hands to re-fashion November 11 hereafter.

Hundreds of pacifist meetings will be held in Great Britain over this weekend at each of which speakers will be calling on their audiences to declare themselves as totally opposed to war.

★

Everyone who has watched the steady growth of the Peace Pledge Union can be encouraged by the latest successes in the field of civil liberty. Every day there is a better chance of expanding this influence if only we have an abiding faith.

It is becoming clear that there is a new

# How P.P.U. Groups Are Working for Peace

**M**EMBERS of the Newark Group gained first-hand knowledge of German people and life when, at a meeting last week, they were addressed by a new PPU member who only in March returned from Germany, after a 10 years' sojourn there.

A useful discussion developed. The German Youth movement, he thought, had "enormous potentialities" if it were not, as now, mis-used—a fact he believed was not fully appreciated by British official circles.

Giving his impressions of present-day Britain, the speaker said he had detected here, as in Germany, an unwillingness on the part of people to express their opinions freely in public. Illustrating his point, he told of a train journey taken the previous night. He and his five compartment companions became engaged in conversation—but only when their mutual peace sympathies had become more or less evident did any one of them dare to give expression to their underlying desire for an immediate armistice and conference, which, it transpired, all held.

### Developments in Northern Ireland

**R**EGIONAL Reunion meetings are now being held in Belfast at the Berlitz School of Languages on the first and third Wednesdays of each month. This change was necessary on account of ever-increasing attendances at these united meetings. For the newcomers to pacifism there is a meeting on the first Monday at 31a, Wellington Place, and twelve pacifist clergymen, representing six denominations, have arranged to meet monthly.

The correspondence columns of the local press are still being utilized to good advantage by some members, and *Peace News* selling is on the upgrade, though volunteers will always be welcome outside the GPO on Saturday afternoons.

Ministers of religion in the area have recently been supplied with copies of the current news-sheet and other literature; and on Armistice Sunday speakers from the PPU will attend the Fellowship Meeting at the York Street Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church, Belfast.

Belfast pacifists are looking forward to the visit of Professor Finnegan on December 6. Derry group, under his leadership, has done much pioneer work. Bangor group has sent a handsome donation to the Basque Fund. Miss M. R. Whitby, Friends' School, Lisburn, would be glad to receive assistance in the formation of a group in that town; and Miss P. Taylor, 77, South Parade, Belfast, has been entrusted with similar work in the Ravenhill Road area. Mr. A. J. Weir, 8, Kingsway Drive, Belfast, is still the energetic secretary of the region. Belfast pacifists have wondered how he found time to graduate as B.Sc. a few months ago.

### Soldier Leaves Kendal Meeting

**W**ILFRED WELLOCK and Vera Brittain were the speakers at a meeting at Kendal last week.

A somewhat controversial note was struck from the first, as a soldier in the audience took exception to a remark made from the chair and left the hall; but far from spoiling the evening this actually aroused a great deal of interest, and caused the audience to pay special attention to everything that was said.

Between three and four hundred people were present, and the meeting lasted two and a half hours.

idea taking hold of people's minds and they are perceiving as never before the possibilities of a new European order; not by bloody revolution but by common consent men are accepting the idea of federation and co-operation as the only way out. The pacifist is in the forefront of this movement, refusing to accept a compromise of an armed police force and believing that only by a bold surrender of our reliance in force can we lead the way to an unarméd Europe.

★

I remember the dead. Those men who died in the first still-born attack on Pilkem Ridge and the Steenbeck on August 8, 1917; men who drowned in mud at Passchendaele in November of the same year; those who never came back from raids designed to capture an overcoat for identification and finally, those who, unable to stand the futility any longer, shot themselves.

I remember and shall try and keep my faith with them, who believed that they died to end War.

## APPEAL FOR PEACE TERMS

John Barclay asks us to remind groups to send in as soon as possible the forms (issued by the National Peace Council) entitled "An Appeal for a Declaration of Terms of Peace"—duly endorsed by the group (NOT by individuals).

**A**PPECIATION was expressed for the good work done by the retiring officers (with Charles Baldwin as chairman) at a meeting of the East Midlands Area Committee last month. The following new elections were made: Chairman, Sidney Gibbon, of Newark-on-Trent; vice-chairman, Ewart White, of Coalville; secretary and treasurer, Jeanne Bishop, of Nottingham. The meeting heard a resolution and memorandum from the Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Labour Women's Advisory Council, asking that "... the Labour and Trade Union Leaders review their position and refuse collaboration in this ghastly catastrophe ..." and calling upon "the official party for a reversal of their present policy. ..." It was agreed that this was constructive and that the PPU should give active support.

### Dr. Wood at Luton

**D**R. ALEX. WOOD, addressing a crowded meeting at Luton last week, fully endorsed the efforts sponsored by *Peace News* to convene a world conference.

He wished to remind those people who laid great emphasis on the brutal and unbalanced mentality evident among the Nazis, that many of the young men in the movement were born under, and lived through, terrible conditions brought about by blockade methods.

Referring to the need for more peace propaganda and the vital necessity of calling a world conference, Dr. Wood said that every effort should be made to support and sell *Peace News* from door to door if necessary.

There will be a renewed street-selling campaign in Luton commencing on November 11 (tomorrow).

### "Peace News" in Bradford

**P**EACE NEWS selling in Bradford has been carried out with enthusiasm during the last twelve months. Recent figures show that 1,047 copies have been sold in Darley Street (a crowded highway in the centre of the city). 734 copies were bought at public meetings, while 400 copies have been displayed regularly in 20 local public libraries, thus giving a grand total of 2,181.

A joint meeting with the FOR was held in the Friends' Meeting House last month, and was addressed by Stuart Morris with the Rev. Donald Campbell in the chair.

Intensive pamphlet activity over the past month has resulted in the distribution of 6,000 copies of "Is it Peace?" and 10,000 copies of "Nine reasons for stopping the War."

### Sudbury Mock Tribunal

**A** FORTNIGHT ago the Sudbury (Suffolk) group held a Mock Tribunal in the Friends' Meeting House. Mr. Basil Taylor (President of the group) acted as chairman and there were seven objectors who all stood as Christian pacifists.

The "tribunal" were very realistic in their anti-pacifist attitude, and the objectors felt that there had been very useful experience gained.

The Sudbury group recently made arrangements with a local newsagent to display *Peace News* providing the group guaranteed to buy what was left over from one dozen copies. For the first fortnight seven of the dozen have been sold in addition to copies bought by regular readers.

### Barking Evacuees Please Note!

**A**T a special meeting of the Barking branch last month four new members were enrolled.

It was reported that Mr. Kirby had obtained exemption, category "B," at the West London County Court Tribunal. Mock Tribunals, so helpful in this case, will continue to be held, and any members or friends affected by the Military Service Acts will receive every possible aid from the branch.

All evacuated members are asked to get in touch with the Group Leader, Mr. S. F. Hall, 83, Netherfield Gardens, so that contact can be re-established.

### Edinburgh's Appeal to Women

**T**HE Liberton (Edinburgh) group has been making an effort to gather public support for the Stop-the-War Campaign, appealing specially to women, through distribution of the leaflet by Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, and notices of informal meetings to discuss problems raised in it.

Meetings are held at 37, Chambers Street, on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m.; and at the Forest School Hut, Kingston, Gilmerton Road, on alternative Saturdays at 2.30 p.m.

### West Sussex Region Formed

**A** WEST Sussex Region was formed at a meeting at Chichester last Sunday. It was attended by representatives from Chichester, Worthing and Bognor groups, and officials of the Southern Area Council, which called the meeting.

Mr. A. L. Jeffrey, 30, Orchard Avenue, Chichester, agreed to act as secretary until the next meeting. This will be held at 46, Green-court Drive, North Bersted, Bognor Regis, on December 3, at 3 p.m. Officers will be elected and the decision as to where future meetings will be held will be made at this gathering.

### Mary Gamble visits Leicester

**A**DDRESSING a Leicester meeting, Miss Mary Gamble said that the task for pacifists in its wider aspect involved a real understanding of the situation. They must influence public opinion, and by writing to the Prime Minister and MPs, demand that our Government declares now on what terms it would make peace.

A resolution was passed at the meeting urging the Government to state its peace terms now.

**T**HE Southgate group now holds a first aid and ambulance class every Tuesday and Thursday at 8 p.m. at Grange Park Methodist Church Hall, Old Park Ridings, London, N.21.

The group is anxious to receive old clothes and books which will be utilized for evacuees, &c., either through the Southgate Social Service or C.A.B.

Since the beginning of September there has been an organized mass selling of *Peace News* every Saturday, but helpers are still needed. Sellers should meet either at Lodge Drive, Palmers Green, or at the tube station, Southgate, at 3 p.m. prompt.

### Walthamstow Region's Leaflet

**T**HE Walthamstow region has published a leaflet setting out the "common-sense way to uproot Hitlerism without war." Up to date about 10,000 copies have been distributed in the district.

Further copies are obtainable from Harry Wilman, 55 Richmond Avenue, Highams Park, E.4.

### Stockport Mass Selling

**S**TOCKPORT group organized a mass selling of *Peace News* last Saturday.

The result was very satisfactory as this was the first attempt at street-selling since the outbreak of war—66 copies were sold in about an hour and a half.

It is intended to make this a regular feature in future.

### Manchester Mass Selling Tomorrow

**V**OLUNTEERS are wanted for a mass *Peace News* selling in Manchester to-morrow (Armistice Day), from noon to 5 p.m.

They can collect supplies of the paper from 41 John Dalton Street any time after noon.

### John Barclay at Tonbridge

**A** VERY successful meeting was held by Tonbridge group on Friday, at which John Barclay spoke. Members of Tunbridge Wells, Sevenoaks, Westerham, and Eynsford groups were invited. Only Tunbridge Wells group, however, was able to send any number as travelling conditions are so bad.

The West Kent Region held a mass *Peace News* selling the following day at Tonbridge when members from Gravesend, Maidstone, Dartford, and Tonbridge took part; in a little over one hour, 65 copies were sold.

The Tonbridge Youth Group has been successfully launched and the group held its second meeting on Sunday. On November 11 Tonbridge group is holding an open-air meeting at the Angel Corner at 3 p.m. when local speakers will be relied upon to express our case for an immediate truce and also for the immediate statement of peace aims.

Tonbridge Group has 3 CO's who signed on October 21.

### Peckham Parade Tomorrow

**V**OLUNTEERS are wanted for a poster parade which will start from the Dick Sheppard Centre at 158 Queens Road, Peckham, to-morrow (Armistice Day).

Those taking part are to meet at 2.15 p.m.

## University News

# Mock Tribunal at Oxford

**O**N Wednesday of last week the Oxford University Pacifist Association held a "Mock" Tribunal. There was little "mock" about it, and the results of it were so useful for everyone who was present, that it is worth summarizing them for the benefit of others.

The Tribunal was composed of pacifists and non-pacifists, and six applicants were dealt with. The Chairman gave his own impressions and some good advice at the end, from which these remarks are largely derived.

He strongly recommended much shorter statements than some of those which were submitted. The objections were very varied, as an attempt was made to get applicants with as different points of view as possible. One thing struck me very forcibly: the demeanour of the applicant counts for far more than his arguments.

Those whose pleas were most successful were two in particular who gave the impression of intense conviction entirely apart from what they said. In fact the arguments of one were not outstanding, but he carried the Tribunal with him merely by the force of his spirit. One or two on the other hand were very weak in their pleas, and will have to do better at the real Tribunal.

But it is those who "look" pacifists who will be so useful to our movement when the time comes for them to make their witness.

## Dates for Your Diary

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Today (Friday)

**MANCHESTER:** 1.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; Dame Sybil Thorndike; PPU and Society of Friends.

**HIGHGATE VILLAGE:** 7.30 p.m. "Ye Olde Gate House"; Barbara Wootton and Professor C. E. M. Joad (chairman) on "Federal Union"; PPU.

**ST. ALBANS:** 7.30 p.m. Dagnall Street Baptist Church; Armistice Service; leader: Rev. W. Morton Barwell; speakers: Dr. A. Herbert Gray and Rev. Morley S. Simmons; FoR.

**SWANSEA:** 7.30 p.m. Wesley Mission, College Street; George M. U. Davies; United Pacifists and Peace Council.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; John McNair on "International Pacifism"; PPU.

**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m. Avenue Baptist Church, Milton Road; Devotional Meeting; Rev. Donald O. Soper and Dr. Alex Wood; Southend Christian Pacifist Group.

**GLASGOW:** ILP Rooms, 548 London Road; Bridgeton; Eastern area group formation; speaker: D. G. MacRae; PPU.

### ARMISTICE DAY

#### Tomorrow (Saturday)

**SHEFFIELD:** 1.15 p.m. Sunshine Cafe, Orchard Street; peace luncheon; guests: Lady Mabel Smith and Cecil Wilson; PPU.

**WESTMINSTER:** 2 p.m. Central Hall; George Lansbury, Mrs. Theo Nafel, James H. Hudson, and Miss Rose Simpson; Women's Co-operative Guild.

**KETERING:** 2.30 p.m. Trade Union Offices, Club Street; one-day school to conclude with social; Wilfred Wellcock and Rev. W. Cauldwell (chairman); PPU.

**BLACKBURN:** 3 p.m. YMCA; Intercessions for Christian Peace; Rev. A. Knowles, F. J. Parkinson, Rev. G. Arnold West on "The Nature of Christian Peace"; Blackburn Pacifist Council.

**BURY ST. EDMUNDS:** 3 p.m. Congregational Church, Whiting Street (kind permission of Minister and Deacons); United Peace Service; preacher: Humphrey S. Moore.

**GLASGOW:** 3 p.m. St. John's New Free Church, 205 George Street; Vera Brittain; Women's International League and Union of Democratic Control.

**HAMMERSMITH:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Lower Mall; regional meeting for election of officers, &c.; open-air meeting at approx. 4 p.m.; PPU.

**KINGSWAY:** 3 p.m. Kingsway Hall; devotional meeting; "Christ and Peace"; Rev. Donald O. Soper (chairman), George Lansbury, Miss E. O. Comber and Professor Herbert H. Farmer; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

**SHEFFIELD:** 3 p.m. Holy Trinity Church, Wicker; peace service.

**SMETHWICK:** 3 p.m. St. Stephen's Church Hall Cambridge Road; "The Church and this war"; Rev. Alexander Miller and Canon F. K. Roberts (chairman); Smethwick Christian Pacifist Group.

**STOKE-ON-TRENT:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Thomas Street; Fellowship Service for Pacifists; leader: Rev. C. J. Tripe; address by Ven. P. Hartill; PPU.

**UPPER TOOTING:** 3 p.m. Holy Trinity Church, Trinity Road; Service of Prayer and Dedication; Canon Raven.

**WOODFORD:** 3 p.m. Derby Road Methodist Church; Rev. Phyllis Webber on "Christ and Peace"; FoR and PPU.

**CATFORD:** 3.30 p.m. Brownhill Road Baptist Church Hall; Service of Remembrance; Rev. A. H. Hawkins and Rev. G. E. Hickman Johnson; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

**LIVERPOOL:** 4 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street; "Christ and Peace"; Rev. Harold V. Koop (chairman); Helen Byles Ford and Rev. R. S. Sorensen; Society of Friends, FoR and PPU.

**WANDSWORTH:** 5.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Meeting of Remembrance and Dedication; PPU and Methodist Peace Fellowship.

**SHEFFIELD:** 6 p.m. Holy Trinity Parish Hall, Wicker; meeting for pacifists and friends; Roy Walker; PPU.

**READING:** 6.30 p.m. Folk House, 2 Church Street; Andrew Stewart and R. H. Robson (chairman); PPU and FoR.

**CROYDON:** 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Lane; "The Way of Peace"; Rev. Henry Carter and Rev. Patrick Figgis (chairman); Society of Friends, PPU, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Methodist Peace Fellowship and FoR.

**SCARBOROUGH:** 7 p.m. Jubilee Methodist Church; Stuart Morris; PPU.

**WEYMOUTH:** 7 p.m. Gloucester Street Congregational Church; Devotional Peace Service conducted by Mr. G. England; PPU.

**GOLDERS GREEN:** 7.30 p.m. All Souls' Hall, Hoop Lane; A Remembrance Day meeting; Rev. G. Stephens Spinks and Dr. A. Herbert Gray (chairman); PPU.

### Sunday, November 12

**LONDON, S.E.1:** 10.45 a.m. Morley College, 61 Westminster Bridge Road; conference on "Youth, Democracy, and War"; details from "Association for Education in Citizenship", 10 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; all-London convention against war and conscription; No Conscription League.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 3 p.m. Bull Ring (if wet, in "Pillar" Rooms); Herbert Whitley, H. Hilditch and Mrs. Leonard; PPU.

**BOURNEMOUTH:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Miss Court on "Astrology in Relation to Universal Brotherhood"; PPU.

**GRAVESEND:** 3 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Harmer Street; Leslie Harries and Kenneth Bowden; PPU.

**HORSHAM:** 3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Worthing Road; meetings for Fellowship and encouragement; Mark H. Hayler on "Pacifists Today"; Society of Friends and PPU.

**LINCOLN:** 7 p.m. Oddfellows' Hall, Unity Square; Andrew Stewart and Rev. F. N. James (chairman); admission by invitation card only; applications for these should be made to Miss J. Parkinson, 8 Boultham Park Road, Lincoln.

**NEWTON ABBOT:** 7.30 p.m. Salvation Army Hut (Union Street); K. Spurrell and Basil Rodgers; PPU.

### Monday, November 13

**CHRISTCHURCH:** 7 p.m. Millhams Street; Percy Ellicott on "Which Way to Peace"; Congregational Guild.

**SWANSEA:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; discussion on "Pacifism and the Man in the Street"; led by Mr. Comer of Llanelly; United Pacifist Group.

**WAKEFIELD:** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Thornhill Street; Miss C. M. Troughton on "Pacifism and Education" PPU.

### Tuesday, November 14

**TOWER HILL:** 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; W. G. Millman; City PPU group.

**BLAENAU FFESTINOG:** 7 p.m. Bryn Bowydd Chapel; Stuart Morris and Rev. Festin Williams (chairman); PPU.

**GLOSSOP:** 7.30 p.m. Co-operative Hall; Principal Sutherland and Norman Jepson (chairman); "The kind of Peace we need to build a New World"; PPU.

### Wednesday, November 15

**BANGOR:** 3 p.m. University College; Stuart Morris; 6 p.m. Bethesda; Stuart Morris; PPU.

**BOURNEMOUTH:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Young People's Meeting; PPU.

**GLASGOW:** Central Halls, Bath Street; aggregate members' meeting; PPU.

### Thursday, November 16

**NOTTINGHAM:** 7 p.m. Adult School, Friar Lane; Rev. A. Lynch on Federal Union; PPU.

**PORTMADOC:** 7 p.m. Stuart Morris and Rev. J. P. Davies (chairman); PPU.

**BOURNEMOUTH:** 7.30 p.m. Little Theatre Club Room, Westover and Hinton Roads; debate: "That the Serious Theatre today must be in essence a Pacifist Theatre"; for: Roy Walker; Bournemouth Little Theatre Club.

**LEIGH-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. Bryan H. Reed; FoR.

**PECKHAM:** 8 p.m. Trinity College Mission, New Church Road; Andrew Stewart and Rev. C. E. Fisher (chairman); "Should we offer Peace Terms?"; PPU.

### Friday, November 17

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; open meeting; PPU.

### Saturday, November 18

**BIRMINGHAM:** 2.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bull Street; conference to discuss "Plans for a Real Peace"; Cecil Wilson, Fenner Brockway and John S. Hoyland (chairman); No Conscription League.

**BRISTOL:** 2.30 p.m. The Folk House, College Green; annual general meeting; 3.30 p.m. open meeting; D. J. Weight (chairman) and Harold Bing; Wessex Pacifist Council.

**GUILDFORD:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Ward Street; John Barclay; East Hants—West Surrey Region.

**WORCESTER:** 5.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Mrs. G. Porter on "The Implications of Christianity in Time of War"; PPU.

**PORTSMOUTH:** 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Fratton; East Hants—West Surrey Regional meeting; John Barclay; PPU.

### Sunday, November 19

**EASTLEIGH:** 11 a.m. West Hampshire Regional meeting; 3 p.m. public meeting; PPU.

**EWELL, Surrey:** 6.30 p.m. Ewell Vicarage, Church Street; Mock Tribunal; PPU.

### FEDERAL UNION

Speaker:

**BARBARA WOOTTON**

Chairman:

**Prof. C. E. M. JOAD**

Highgate Village "Ye Olde Gate House"

November 17th, 7.30 p.m.

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### MEETINGS

**SOCIALISTS AND WAR.** Socialist Party of Great Britain mass meeting, Conway Hall, Holborn, Friday, November 10, 6.30. All welcome. Questions.

### MISCELLANEOUS

**SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY** being formed. Hilly district. £1 redeemable shares.—Organizer, Bill Garbett, 21 Wyckham Close, Harborne, Birmingham, 17.

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**CO (21)** requires electrical work (improver). SE London preferred.—E. Davies, 19 Clifton Road, Welling, Kent.

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## Peace News Fund: Fine Response

**READERS** of *Peace News* have responded magnificently to our announcement last week of the situation created by the jump in price of newsprint from £11 5s. a ton to £17 a ton.

This week's contributions to the *Peace News* Fund have reached the fine figure of £19 19s. 9d., bringing the total to date up to £325 10s. 11d.

We wish we could acknowledge each contribution in *Peace News*, but space forbids. Nevertheless, we are very grateful.

The increase in the financial burden may be gauged from the fact that in some weeks 2 tons of newsprint have been required for *Peace News*.

(The *Peace News* Fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

Meanwhile our circulation remains at a really encouraging level.

Last week we printed 36,080 copies—the drop of 201 compared with the previous week being explained by the fact that we found it desirable to reduce the margin over actual copies ordered.

This week we are expecting a record sale, and a small stock of paper at our disposal has been used up to produce this special 12-page issue.

We know that the sellers who have done such good work in recent weeks will excel themselves this weekend.

## Advisory Bureaux for C.O.s

**THE** Rev. Lewis MacLachlan has now been appointed secretary of the Joint Advisory Council for Conscientious Objectors in Glasgow. His address is 8 Orchard Drive, Giffnock, Glasgow.

Meanwhile here are a further collection of amendments and additions to the full list of advisory bureaux for COs published on October 6. We would again remind readers that any similar changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureau, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and NOT to *Peace News*.

### Amendments

**GATESHEAD AND DISTRICT.** R. C. Wyld, 32 Elmwood Gardens, Ravensworth, Gateshead, 11.

**KINGSTON AND DISTRICT.** COs Fellowship Group, J. B. Chapman, 25 Hill Court, Surbiton.

**LEEDS.** Rev. P. D. Robins, St. George's Vicarage, Leeds 2. (Not St. George's Crypt).

**NORTH SHIELDS.** John C. Gillie, 43 Albury Park Road, Tynemouth.

**SHREWSBURY.** Robert G. Barrie, Eastrea, Bryn Road, Shrewsbury.

**STOCKTON-ON-TEES.** Stephen Wright, 3 Granville Grove, Norton, Stockton-on-Tees.

**WOLVERHAMPTON.** B. G. la Barre, Stich Lane, Wombourne, Staffs.

### Additions

**ASHINGTON.** William Lynn and Rev. S. Carden, Joint Secretaries, 7 Jubilee Estate, Ashington, Northumberland.

**BARRY.** Clr. E. Cowley, 24 Robin Lane, Cadoxton, Barry.

**DARLINGTON.** Frank Howard, Pacifist Advisory Committee, c/o Friends' Meeting House, Skinnergate, Darlington.

**DOLLAR.** R. Deans, 84a Greenfield Street, Alloa, Clackmannanshire.

**FULHAM.** E. Culver, c/o 37 Avonmore Road, W.14.

**GLASGOW.** Andrew White, 534 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, C.2.

**GORSEINON.** Secretary, 70 Brynamlw Road, Gorseinon, Swansea, Glam.

**KENDAL.** Rev. H. D. Evans, 11 Thorny Hill, Kendal.

**WOLVERTON.** F. G. Bell, 15 Oxford Street, Wolverton.

# How C.O.s' Tribunals Interpret Alternative Service

grounds. Mr. Carr argued that the tribunal had not the power to do other than put him on the register unconditionally."

Describing this as "a point of law," the chairman then described the provisions of "the Act whereby we were created," and went on: "Having once satisfied ourselves as to the genuineness of an applicant's claim to be a conscientious objector, there are four courses open to us."

"If he fails to satisfy us that the objection is genuinely conscientious, he is to be put on the Military service register. If he satisfies us that his only objection is to doing combatant duties he is to be put on that register as a person liable to be employed only in non-combatant duties."

"The other two apply in the event of our being satisfied as to his conscientious objection to all three objects [being registered in the Military service register, performing Military service, and performing combatant duties]. That is, we could order him to be unconditionally registered on the register of conscientious objectors, or we could order him to be conditionally registered on the conscientious objectors register provided he does work of a civilian nature under civilian control such as we shall direct."

"It is perfectly clear that, in determining which of those we shall direct, the tribunal must exercise its discretion."

"For these reasons we are of the unanimous opinion that Mr. Carr's contention fails. We accordingly direct that Dunn shall, within a reasonable time, take up some work of national importance."

Mr. Carr said: "That judgment must be tested on appeal." Pending that, in a subsequent case which he conducted he asked the tribunal to exercise its discretion in the applicant's favour and put him on the register unconditionally. Their decision, however, was the same as in the previous case.

## Complete Exemption "Not Likely"

It was quite clear, in fact, both from this important ruling and from its attitude generally, that the Birmingham tribunal at any rate has virtually set its face against giving complete exemption.

Although it is true that one applicant, on Monday, was registered unconditionally—whether because he claimed to be a "minister of the gospel," or because he had

(continued from page 7)

gone so far as to give up his job, when it became war work, to do that, was not clear—in another case, where the applicant claimed absolute exemption, the chairman replied: "I think you can take it that the tribunal is not likely to grant you that."

Though it is seldom so frankly stated, this is the attitude—to greater or less degree—of nearly all the tribunals. The extreme example is the London tribunal; while, at the opposite extreme, the South-Western (Bristol) one not only appreciates the point when a man realizes that civil work is an alternative way of serving the war effort, and thus violates his conscience, but acts accordingly.

Perhaps this answers the point raised by Douglas J. S. Owen and Winifred A. Garrett who write (on behalf of the Lancashire and Cheshire Friends' Peace Committee): "We cannot understand on what grounds the tribunals decide that so few of these 'absolutists' are genuine and why they deny to so many of them the unconditional exemption provided in the Act."

In other words, they do not necessarily come to that conclusion, but give decisions regardless of the applicants' genuineness. While, in the case of Birmingham, this appears as if it were mere contrariness, the South-Eastern tribunal made some effort to justify such decisions despite proof of genuineness by such phrases as: "We feel a doubt as to whether we ought to leave you in your present employment when so many of your contemporaries are having to make sacrifices," and "We agree you have a conscientious objection but feel you should do something to help the community."

IN each of those two cases the "alternative service" was to join the St. John Ambulance Brigade—in addition to doing their work in the daytime. Which brings me to the whole question of aiding the wounded—whether voluntarily or compulsorily, and under civilian or military auspices and control.

I am not concerned here with the principles but with the practical considerations involved. As far as the hearing of applications by tribunals are concerned, those considerations chiefly concern the position in which the so-called "absolutist" is placed by the tribunal's misuse of the offers or acceptance or performance by other pacifists of various forms of humanitarian service.

During the hearing of a case on the first day of the Manchester tribunal, the chairman (Judge Burgess) picked up a copy of the *Peace Service Handbook* from his table and, waving it at the applicant, said, "But the Peace Pledge Union of which you are a member urges you to join some organization for service."

James Norbury, who was sitting in the body of the court, rose and quietly asked the chairman if he would allow a point of correction. Judge Burgess did so and James Norbury stated, "The Peace Pledge Union does not urge its members to do anything except to remain loyal to their personal interpretation of its common pledge. It allows complete freedom of conscience to its members."

## Training in F.A.U.

The Chairman accepted the correction. But at other tribunals—notably that sitting at Leeds—little notice has been taken, in the case of Quaker applicants, of the even more detached attitude on the part of the Society of Friends to the Friends' Ambulance Unit.

In this connexion some interesting information was given by the organizer of the new FAU, Paul Cadbury, when two of its

members appeared before the Birmingham tribunal on Monday.

I myself had been to the unit's training camp in Birmingham, that morning, where 60 members of the Society of Friends (about a tenth of those—Friends and non-Friends—who have applied) have just about finished their training. This consists of training in first-aid and other forms of ambulance work, ARP work, and such physical training as drill and route marches.

No uniforms have been issued yet, and though they salute their own officers when on parade, they have as yet no obligations to the Army. But it is recognized that a certain amount of military discipline is necessary if they are to work in the war zone, and only those are taken by the unit who accept that obligation.

## Relation to R.A.M.C.

Asked what was the relation of the FAU to the RAMC in the field, Paul Cadbury told the tribunal that on the ambulance trains, in the last war, the two worked "fairly closely."

He added: "But in the Friends unit members retain their civilian status. We are hoping to do similar work at the old unit." In the last war, he said, "we had exemption from joining any part of the Army."

Those who had just finished their training were going to do medical work as volunteers in London hospitals, being housed as a unit in the East End of London. The unit had not yet obtained authority to go to the war zone.

As regards the tribunal's decision in the case of the two members of the unit before it, Paul Cadbury said: "I hope it will not be specified that they must join the FAU, because we have not yet got the authority. If something could be specified that would cover that, we should prefer it."

The chairman, addressing the applicant, said: "There is no question that you are entitled to remain on the register, and the only condition we make is that you will remain there so long as you continue to be employed in full-time ambulance work."

## Dissatisfied Applicants

Anyone dissatisfied with a tribunal's decision that he be only conditionally exempt can, of course, always appeal, pending which the decision may be assumed to be suspended. The method of appeal is clearly set out on the form on which official notice of the decision is sent to each applicant. An appeal must be lodged within three weeks.

Even if the condition is upheld by the appellate tribunal and the CO still refuses to accept it, when a local tribunal is informed, and satisfies itself, that the CO is not observing the condition, all that happens is that he is required "to make a fresh application to a local tribunal, and... that tribunal may deal with him in like manner as, after being satisfied that the ground of his application was established, they had power to deal with him on his original application."

Articles discussing the questions of principle involved in this issue of absolute and conditional exemption will appear next week by Wilfred Wellock and Philip Mumford.

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## ... and Now Their Sons Are Marching

"I HAVE a picture that will never die out of my memory—it will not perhaps, be long for it to have that opportunity. It is of the young men who marched round Bow and Bromley in 1914. Most of these boys I had known as babies. The majority of them never came back. Many of those who did come back were bruised and battered, and we had to fight like mad to get them any sort of conditions at all. The records of this House will prove that. I have told the House this many times; I will tell the House something else now."

"I have now seen the sons of those men, whom also I have known as babies, march and re-march, singing the old songs and going again to the shambles. If I could be convinced that out of war and slaughter, and out of all this bestial business, a true peace would come, I would go out and cheer them and beg them to go and join; and if I had the strength, I would go and join with them."

"But I know from the bottom of my soul, because I am convinced by experience by what I have read and by experience in my own life-time, that you cannot overcome evil by evil and you cannot cast out force by force."

"Because I know those things, I am bound this afternoon to say that I regret that we cannot go one step further and say to the Russian, the American, and all the Governments: 'Let us come together and try to hammer out some way of peace.'"

—Mr. George Lansbury in the House of Commons, October 12.

## CHURCH BANS PACIFIST MEETINGS

SO successful was a "Stop-the-War" meeting held by the Peace Pledge Union in the Archway Central Hall recently that the trustees of the hall have passed a resolution banning the use of the premises to pacifist organizations for the duration of the war.

The premises are occupied by the Methodist Church's North London Mission.

When the resolution was passed, the hall had already been booked for another meeting, to be addressed by Wilfred Wellock. When the Rev. David R. Mace, Superintendent of the Mission, discovered that literature for the meeting had already been distributed, he refused to apply the resolution to this case.

### Ban Ignored

Some members of the Quarterly Meeting (the supreme court of the church) were concerned at his refusal to carry out its wishes, and appealed to the chairman of the district, but he, after consultation with the secretary of the conference, gave his ruling in the Superintendent's favour.

The meeting was held, and was packed to overflowing, people being turned away.

The resolution, however, has now come into effect.

The resolution containing the ban—which was carried by a small majority—appeared to be based on the view that such meetings were now political in nature because they opposed the policy of the present Government, and the Methodist Conference has strongly recommended that political meetings should not be held on church premises.

There was also a feeling that the Superintendent's known sympathy with the pacifist cause was tending to make the mission a sort of headquarters of pacifism in North London. It was feared that this association might cause support to be withdrawn from the mission by those who did not sympathize with such views.

Mr. Mace was among the speakers at the meeting held before the ban was imposed.

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National Peace Council has expressed profound appreciation of peace appeal issued by Queen of Holland and King of Belgium and of willingness of the two sovereigns to use their royal offices in endeavour to find basis of truce and conference acceptable to both sides. Most fitting tribute to the peace movement should be made of this opportunity of seeking an honourable peace before unflinching war develops, and urges British Government to accept the two sovereigns at earliest moment, and in more detailed terms than hitherto, conditions upon which it would be ready to enter negotiations.

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